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PERSEUS in the TENT of

PAULUS EMILIUS

ANCIENT HISTORY

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EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

Title

MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr ROLLIN.

VOLUME IX.

The History of the GRECIANS.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for Hamilton and Balfour, Kincais and Donaldson, and W. Gray.

MDCCLVIII.

AMOUNT HISTORIA

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BOOK

BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

SEQUEL of the

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's Successors.

HIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes fomething more than one and tweny years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, fon of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Afiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to by, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history VOL. IX. B

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history of Egypt includes also one hundred years from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometer, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is from the year of the world 3845, to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

This article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECT. I. Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achaens in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.

(a) THE death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already began to put it in execution; which was to bring a considerable body of troops both horse and foot from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube,

Philip

⁽a) A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 78. Liv. l. 40. n. 57, 58. Orof. l. 4. cap. 20.

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hilip was to have fettled them upon the lands of the ardanians, whom he had refolved utterly to exterinate; because being very near neighbours of Maedonia, they never failed to take every favourable ocassign for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new fet-Tement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich nemselves with the booty they were in hopes of maing there. Whatever the fuccess might be, Philip coneived he should find great advantages in it: If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in being himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded whilst the Romans were employed in repulfing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were confiderably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news and feveral accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. is return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure imself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, hat the senate would acknowledge him king. ble intent was to gain time.

(b) Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by is ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent or them, and had no share in their enterprise. The enate, without making any farther inquiry into the stair, contented themselves with advising him to take are, that he observed inviolably the treaty made with

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⁽b) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Freinshim in Liv.

the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were

fwallowed up in the river.

(c) It was known at Rome, that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æscula. pius. It was thought proper to fend ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the + Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of confulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, re. turned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthio. tis, Achaia, and Theffaly, without committing any ho. stilities in his march. He afterwards fent either ambas. adors or circular letters to all the states thro' which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves who sled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or

⁽c) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. 41. n. 27, 29.

[†] Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

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aimed after that general interdiction. -Perseus caused I these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to le Achæans with an obliging letter, in which he khorted them to take effectual methods for preventog their slaves from making his dominions their renge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the refablishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and defired to make his court to the king, feconded his demand very frongly, and was supported by those, who were most

blicitous for recovering their flaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the asembly, who was convinced that the fafety of the eague confisted in the inviolable observance of the reaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilft that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. concluded that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia coninued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipirate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Calicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but folely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of a war against the Romans, the eague could not fail to declare for them. But, added he, whilft the peace subsists, if animosities and dissentions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while. B 3

Nothing was concluded in this affembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambass fadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

(d) The ambassadors, sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evaluation equally salse. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they had found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors, whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far

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⁽d) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Liv. I. 42. n. 2,5,

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ceeding his power to perform. They were fuffiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than that of Eumenes, tho' the latter had rendered great rvices to most of those cities; and those of his own minions would not have changed condition with ch as were entirely free. There was, however, no omparison between the two princes in point of chacter and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous or his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of havmy murdered his wife with his own hands, after the eath of his father; of having made away with Apeles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother, and of having committed many other murders both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Sumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in overning his subjects, and by his generous propenmy to do good, and to ferve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the eference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Maadonian kings inspired them with contempt for a fate, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they ad seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in eipest.

(e) Perseus was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them om the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that aodice, the daughter of Selencus, went to share the sacedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had sitted him out as sine a sleet as ould be imagined. Perseus had surnished the mateals, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and aman, who came with Laodice. A sentence passed y Rome in savour of the Lycians against the people f Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter.

⁽e) Polyb. Legat. 60. 61.

Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their re sentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

(f) The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes-came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was reeeived there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishmen which left him nothing to with, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perfeus. That that prince had inherited his father's had tred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, sull of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had fince much exercised himself in different enterprifes against his neighbours. That he was highly confidered by the cities of Greece and Afia; without seeming to have any fort of merit to Support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his fister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Boeotians in his interest, very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few perions well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan con federates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians ap plied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not is

(f) A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. Liv. l. 42. n. 11. 14.

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e Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, made such preparations of war himself, as put him to a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. hat he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, d provisions for ten years. That besides his imenfe annual revenues from the mines, he had enough pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. hat he had laid up in his arfenals a sufficient quanmy of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, tho' Macedonia should incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery foldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced noing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain nowledge of facts, founded upon the best informa-" For the rest, said he in concluding, having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and de-Ilivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the prefervation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king tumenes had spoke, was known abroad, or suffered take air at first; so inviolably were the delibera-

ions of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassacrs from king Perseus had audience ome days after. They found the senate highly prendiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them said in his speech, instanced them still more gainst him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had either done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That as for the rest, if he discovered that they were bestinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know

know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Alia, anxious for the ef. feet which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts. especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rho. dians, and of having rendered himself more infup. portable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This dis. course was very agreeable to the Asiatick people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great prefents.

(g) Harpalus, having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not forry upon that account, believing himfelf in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprifed of his most secret meafures, and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to affassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed co

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⁽g) Liv. l. 42. n. 15, 19.

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is affaffins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose ouse he had lodged, when he was in that city. They y in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men buld not pass a-breast. When the king came there, he affaffins rolled two great stones down upon him, ne of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon he earth without sense, and the other wounded him confiderably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with im fled, except one who stayed to affist him. The fassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him when hey returned, without motion, and almost without ife. When he came a little to himself, he was caried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, ut with so much secrefy, that no one was admitted nto his chamber; which gave reason to believe him lead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too foon for a good brother, and looking pon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse he widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could ot forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon hat head, tho' he had at first resolved to dissemble his ente of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to posson him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundusium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed thro' that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle posson, for him to give Eumenes, when he hould come to his house. Rammius did not dare to resuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a sull resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole,

and

and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the alfassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of as. fassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of

so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the fame time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He fent the fon whom he intended for his fuccessor, to Rome, to be educated there from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he defired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shewn him, and the fenate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who defired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

(b) As foon as Eumenes was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour excited by the new crime of his enemy. The fenate fent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their and

ent amity with the Roman people.

They fent also to Perseus to make their complaints and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors see ing they could not have audience for many days, fel out in order to return to Rome. The king caused

em to be recalled. They represented, that by the eaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterards renewed with him, it was expressy stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingom, nor attack the Roman people. They then releated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their flaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufsciently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what t was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed in all the cities of Macedonia thro' which they passed, that great preparations were makng for war.

The ambassadors, that had been fent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be defired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Genius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding in-

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telligence with Perseus; and referred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Lici-

nius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes sixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred a gainst Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to

Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

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Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espouled, after having contracted an assinity with him, by giving him

his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to posses himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war up on that prince, by disputing Coelosyria with him and that the Romans employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had however declared to the senate by his ambass sadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and

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had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had fent to him.

Ptolemy, thro' his tender age, was incapable to refolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops and elephants, and intended to fend his fon Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his defire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected in consequence to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should chuse; and it seemed that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odryfæ, he

had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were univerfally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned memselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few con-, and corned themselves about the justice of the Roman go-

vernment;

vernment; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts and the bad estate of their affairs made them defire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the kings; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace, be cause then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should at tempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and fecure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they faw, as from a place of fafety, the battles and dangers of those who had en gaged in either party.

The Romans after having, according to their law dable custom, discharged all the duties of religion offered solemn prayers and facrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise the had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grie vances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him who said, that the king their master was much amaze at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and the he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction his power. As it was known that Perseus sought on to gain time, they were answered, that the confidence would be soon in Macedonia with his arm

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d that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might. nd his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more to Italy, where they would not be received; and for themleves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

(i) The Romans omitted nothing that might conambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine fuch as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendhip his father had contracted with king Philip, and demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of ling Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed place near the river Peneus for the interview. They ent thither some days after. The king had a great rain, and was furrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies. from other states, who had repaired thither, making a duty to go with them, well pleased with that ocation of carrying home what they should fee and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were foon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the facred ties of hospitality. Marcins, who spoke first, began by excusing himself

(i) Liv. 1. 42. n. 37. 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

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for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of com. plaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He infifted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and

justify him before the senate. Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the as fair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished, that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof rather than to fo many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. " Of this I am + affured, " faid he in concluding, that my confcience does not " reproach me with having committed any fault " knowingly, and with premeditated design, against "the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwa " rily, apprifed as I now am, it is in my power to " amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deferre " the implacable enmity with which I am purfued, a

" guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must " be without foundation, that the clemency and will "dom of the Roman people is univerfally extolled

" if for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint " and remonstrance, they take up arms and make

" war upon kings in alliance with them."

The refult of this conference was, that Perseu should fend new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try

[†] Conseius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse: & si quid se cerim imprudentia lapfus, corrige me & emendari castigatione had posse. Nihil certe infanabile, nec quod bello & armis persequen-dum esse censeatis, commis: aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix que rela & expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, & regibus socias bella infertis. Liv. 2

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possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a fnare laid by the artful commissioner for king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and feemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the fide of Perfeus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have en-

tered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors advanced into Boeotia, where there had been great commotions; fome declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bootia by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the confent of the whole body of the nation according to ancient custom. In this manner the Boeotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed thro' a long course of time a republic, which on feveral occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils, as there were cites in the province; all of which in the fequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them, by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia. except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bocotia the commissioners went into Peloponnefus. The affembly of the Achæan league was fummoned

mands.

moned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men, to garifon Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither in mediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome, in the beginning of the winter.

(k) About the same time Rome sent new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called) has prepared the people, by representing to them, that is was necessary to essay actions, and not by word only, the bad impressions, with which Eumenes has endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors they shewed them a sleet of forty thips entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprize was highly pleasing to the Romans.

Perseus, in consequence of this interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. "If contrary to the treaties substituting between us, they attack me, you will be, said he, the mediators between the two nations.

who returned from thence exceedingly fatisfied with fo diffinguished a zeal, which had prevented their de-

"All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not

⁽k) Liv. 1. 42. n. 45. 48. Polyb. Legat. 64. 68.

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only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for fo great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with different fentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means 1 to reduce Greece into flavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to." The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, That in ease of war, the king was defired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance bey had made with the Romans. The fame ambaiadors went also into Boeotia, where they had almost is little reason to be satisfied; only a few small (1) cines separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the senate the success of their commission. They welt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Boeotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great saisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued prosound
policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But
the old senators, who had imbibed other principles,
and persevered in their ancient maxims, said they did
not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing.
That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour
than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in dis-

(1) Coronæa and Haliartus.

[†] Cum exterorum id interesse; tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

guise and under cover; that such unworthy artistices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it less a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate, which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority up on this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessay, to take possession of Larissa; lest upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also

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fent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Tho' the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things, which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the sleet, set out with sive and forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

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the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Fight of the horse, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on loth sides go into winter quarters.

HE conful Licinius, after having offered vows to the gods in the capitol, fet out from * Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the confuls, fays Livy, was always attended with great folemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the conful, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiofity to fee the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thouand anxious thoughts prefented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened thro' the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal, faid they, can know the fate of a conful at his departure; whether we shall fee him with his victorious army return in triumph to the capitol, from whence he fets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether If the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himfelf famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his fuccession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of fuch thoughts, the citi-* A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171.

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zens conducted the conful out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been confuls, dinot think it below them to ferve in his army in quality of military tribunes, (or as colonels or brigadien and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The conful repaired in their company to Brundusium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, as rived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of hambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, the there remained no hope of peace, held a great come cil, in which opinions were different. Some though it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if requires or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans is softed upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose him person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was lest him, time and chance might produce savourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost but to render him formidable to those, who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different op nion. They infifted, that by making cession of a par he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal Empire. That the knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That the had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselve with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Massinssa. That they had driven Antiochus and his so beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head gainst, the Romans. That prudence required Persew whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider

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th himself, whether by making the Romans somenes one concession, and sometimes another, he was olved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled om his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of Romans, permission to retire and confine himself Samothracia, or some other island, there to pals the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of furviving his glory and empire; or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. ides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to frangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without refistance, nor more laudable than to have med all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. Since you think it so necessary, said the ing, let us make war then with the help of the gods. The gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a facrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, but since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

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It was twenty fix years fince Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Mace donia had remained in tranquillity, and without an confiderable war, there were in it great numbers youth capable of bearing arms, who had already bega to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedo nia had supported against the Thracians their neigh bours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had low before formed the defign of undertaking a war wit the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time w speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary ry to harangue his troops. He mounted his thron therefore, and from thence having his two fons on ead fide of him, spoke to them with great force. He be gan with a long recital of all the injuries the Roman had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to refolve to take up arms against them but that defign a fudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that prefently after the death of Philip, the Romans had fent ambassador to him, and at the fame time marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places. The afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amuse him during all the winter with deceitful interviews and a pretended truce, under the specious pretexto negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the con ful's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which in his fense wa much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and pro visions of war, laid up with infinite care during great number of years. " It remains therefore, M " cedonians, faid he in concluding, only to act with " the same courage your ancestors shewed, whe

[&]quot; having triumphed over all Europe, they croffed in " to Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquest

[&]quot;than those of the universe. You are not now to

[&]quot; carry your arms to the extremities of the East, bu

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to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my sather, they covered that unjust war with the salse pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear, that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you resuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, assed cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the ing to entertain the best hopes, and demanding ear-

leftly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him motey and provisions for the occasions of the army, each coording to their power. The king thanked them the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; iving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Oeta; he consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having urmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and desiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy desended those passes, hey might easily have destroyed their whole army in hem. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

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At the fame time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the conful with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies fent also other troops, tho' in numbers sufficient. ly inconfiderable, and some gallies. Perseus in the mean time, fent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the conful should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might furprife and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with di-Aributing the booty he had made amongst his foldiers, which was very confiderable, and confifted principally in cattle of all forts.

The conful and king held each of them a council at the fame time, in order to refolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræams without opposition, thought it adviseable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were confulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being prefent) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The fignal was immediately given for the foldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed foldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter

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of a league, when he perceived a body of the emy, against which he fent a small detachment of rie, supported by some light-armed troops. As the o detachments were very near equal in number. and neither fide fent any fresh troops to their aid, the firmith ended without its being possible to fay whichde was victorious. Perfeus marched back his troops

Sycurium.

The next day at the same hour, Perseus advanced th all his troops to the fame place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within fix leagues of the place, the way was very dufty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have in-commoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping dose in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the fame leveral days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was began, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they affured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infanry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he dvanced at the head of his cavalry, and light-armed bot towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a reater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and he first who brought the news, could scarce find beef that the enemy was so near, because for several ays before they had not appeared till ten in the forning, and the fun at that time was just rifing. ut when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who

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and quar. ter ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer; ny room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utind hafte to the general's tent, as the foldiers did each his own. The negligence of the conful, so ill inform ed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness him ought to have kept him perpetually upon h

guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than for hundred paces from the conful's intrenchments. Co tys, king of the Odryfæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-arms troops were distributed in the intervals of the from rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse forme the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted The king kept the centre with the horse that alway attended his person; before whom were placed the flingers and archers, to about four hundred in number

The conful having drawn up his foot in battle-arra within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which confifted of all the Italian horse, was commanded C. Licinius Craffus, the conful's brother; the left, con posed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Val rius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-arm ed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre, with felect body of horse; two hundred Gallic horse, an three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse wer placed a little beyond the left wing, as a referved be dy. King Eumenes, and his brother Attalus with the troops, were posted in the space between the intrend ments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both fides, and might amount about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the fling b

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nd missive weapons, which were posted in front; but hat was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild easts long shut up, and thereby the more furious, hrew themselves first upon the right wing of the Ronans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they vere, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with heir fwords, fometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Pereus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, foon out the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigoroully purfued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of referve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were disperfed; and when they faw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose to favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and

fling and

fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander + of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon feeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perfeus, and earneftly beg'd of him not to abandon himfelf to his prefent success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or if he should chuse to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore having praifed the counfel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans loft two thousand of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other fide only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot foldiers were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who with fongs of trimmph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perfeus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound forrow kept a mournful filence, and filled with terror, expected every moment, that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other fide of the Peneus, in order that the river might ferve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The conful was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly difhonourable to himself and his army; but however,

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⁺ Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

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ing convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, sled with his troops by the favour of the night, and

camped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he sound their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their deseat; but he confessed it a still greater sault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without dissiculty have cut off at

east part of their army.

We fee here, in a fensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest emures, owe their being. There is no reader but must ave been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occaion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted either judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the detruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different meahres. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been eafily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God feems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound fleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldien and officers, we may well apply to this event: Am no man faw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for the were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord wa

fallen upon them, I Sam. c. 26. v. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, faw themselves no longer in danger of being fuddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound the had given the glory of the Roman name, made then feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the conful, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was faid, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contra ry, were praised for their valour, and their leaders re warded with feveral marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not in confiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thousand cuirasses, and a much greate number of helmets, fwords, and darts of all kinds The king made great presents of them to the officer who had distinguished themselves most, and having affembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy prefage for them and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troop who had been in the action, and in magnificent term te expatiated upon their victory over their Roman horse, ve in which the principal force of their army confisted or and which they had before believed invincible; and promifed himself from thence a more considerable an fuccess over their infantry, who had only escaped their ev fwords by a shameful slight during the night; but that co it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which ter their fear kept them shut up. The victorious foldiers

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o carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain on their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible easure, and promised themselves every thing from eir valour, judging of the future by the past. The ot, on their fide, especially that which composed the acedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealoufy, etended at least to equal if not excel the glory of eir companions upon the first occasion. In a word, e whole army demanded with incredible ardor and fion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The ng, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward e next day, paffed the river, and encamped at lopfium, an eminence fituate between Tempe and arissa.

The joy for the good fuccess of so important a bathe affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He lookd upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were fo in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by furprile, and in a manner stoln by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own fight, and under his own conduct. He had feen the Roman haughtiness give way before im three times in one day; at first in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to slight; nd lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of he night, and in finding no other fecurity, but by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual erm efuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts vere highly foothing, and capable of deceiving a isted prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, rable and the mebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat their evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reslecting in t that cool blood upon all the consequences, which might atwhich end his victory, he began to be in some fort of terror.

The wisest of the courtiers about him, (1) taking ad-

⁽¹⁾ Polyb. Legat, 69.

vantage of fo happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel, of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They reprefented to him, that the most certain mark of a prodent and really happy prince, was not to rely to much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore he would do well to fend to the conful, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle, nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a fure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwith standing that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable ac commodation, he would at least have the confolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace, that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his sather Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy shewed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner, it was the custom * at that time to n

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^{*} Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv.

spress in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of ood fortune, and to act with moderation in prospety. The answer was; That no peace could be ranted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his ingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it as related to the king and his friends, they were rangely furprifed at fo extraordinary, and, in their nse, so ill-timed, a pride: most of them believed it eedless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Roans would be foon reduced to demand what they ow refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. le judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, ut from the consciousness of superiority; and that effection daunted him exceedingly. He fent again to he conful, and offered a more confiderable tribute han had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw he conful would retract nothing from his first answer, aving no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to is former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again he fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Pereus, that he must have undertaken this war with reat imprudence, and without having compared his frength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions, than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, ince after a first action entirely to his advantage, he egins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some fort inclines to despair. Why then was the first to break the peace? Why was he the agressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop ort at the first step? How came he not to know his cakness, till his own victory shewed it him? These te not the figns of a wife and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which foon read in Greece, made known what the people Vol. IX.

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thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partifans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and infolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia (m). After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after furrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet,

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages laded principally with theafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap and made fix hundred prisoners. He afterwards at tacked a fmall body of troops in the neighbourhood of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more refistance than he had imagined. That small body was com manded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troop rather than furrender. He was upon the point of be ing born down by numbers, when the conful arrived to his affiftance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The fight of the conful gave Pompeius and hi troops new courage, who were eight hundred men all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his pha lanx; but the conful did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time were at last broke and put to the rout. Three hundre foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the Sacred Squadron, which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed

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The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a rong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

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The conful having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken arissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, xcept the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, here he lest them in winter-quarters; and went into ceotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom he people of Coronæa had made incursions.

ECT. III. The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great satigues, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.

n) Othing memorable passed the following year.
The conful Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into llyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the nhabitants of that country, as were allies of the Ronans; and the latter had found means to add eight housand men, raised amongst the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious fally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and purfued them a great way, with dreadful flaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius

⁽n) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. 43. n. 9, 10.

The news of this loss very much afflicted the fenate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the

imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

(o) This was the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the suture, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressy appointed; which or dinance was published in all the cities of Peloponness.

C. Papilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The affembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions: but the wisdom of the perions of greatest authority, prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the rentr

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⁽⁰⁾ Polyb. Legat. 74. Liv. l. 43. n. 17.

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iblic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those ere fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended e power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, id it was resolved, that Archon should be made ief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the orse.

About this time Attalus, having fomething to deand of the Achæan league, caused the new magitrate to be founded; who, determinate in favour of he Romans and their allies, promised that prince to pport his fuit with all his power. The affair in que-Mon was to have a decree reverfed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Enmenes should removed from the public places. At the first conneil that was held, the ambassadors of Atralus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded; that in confideration for the prince who fent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported: his demand, but with great moderation. Polybius poke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and lervices of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the and decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole affembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored all his honours.

(p) It was at this time Rome fent Papilius to Anti-licehus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Qr Marcies Philippus, one of the two confuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he fet out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions a bring the king's being employed against the Ro-

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⁽p) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l, 43. n. 11. and 11.

mans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He be gan with the fiege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how; and took it after a defence of some duration. He after wards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman gar risons in them, and took a great number of prisoners

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gen tius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to qui the party of the Romans, and come over to him Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he ob ferved, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Ro mans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Per feus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or m ther affected not to understand, his demand; and sen a fecond embassy to him without mention of money and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean foul and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry, and that if he would have facil ficed certain fums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can fuch a blindness be conceived in a ra tional creature! Polybius confiders it as a punishment from the gods.

Perfeus having led back his troops into Macedonia made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very ftrom city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would furren der it as foon as he appeared before the walls, but the Romans prevented them, and threw fuccours into the

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Early in the fpring the conful Marcius left Rome and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully affured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

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(q) Upon the report that the Roman army was ready take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the cheans, to justify his country from the suspicions d bad reports that had been propagated against it, vised the Achæans, to pass a decree, by which it ould be ordained, that they should march an army to Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war ith the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orers were given to Archon to raise troops; and to make I the necessary preparations. It was afterwards relved, that ambassadors should be fent to the conful, acquaint him with the resolution of the republic. nd to know from him where and when the Achæan my should join him. Polybius, our historian, with ome others, was charged with this embaffy. bund the Romans had quited Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was necessary to ake. They followed them for a favourable opporunity of speaking to the conful, and shared with him Il the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

(r) Perseus, who did not know what rout the consult would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-

marching without much defign.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the orest that covered part of the country called Octoloha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and unpracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which savoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to

⁽⁴⁾ Polyb. Legat. 78. (r) Liv. 1. 44. n. 1-10.

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enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had pol ed to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, feeing the eminence possessed by a detachmen of the Romans, marched to meet the conful, whi advanced with his whole army, harassed his troom for two days, and distressed them very much by fre quent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not be ing able either to advance with fafety, or retreat with out shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to purfue an undertaking with vigour formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and teme rity, and which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, often crowned in the end with fuccess. It is certain, that if the conful had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would in fallibly have received a great blow. But Perfeus, in flead of fending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglest gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themfelves from the bad affair, in which they had embarked

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horfes laden with the baggage finking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty foot length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a

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d, and so on to as many of the same kind as were The elephant passed from the firm ground ellary. he bridge, and before he came to the end, they contrived to lower the beams infenfibly that supted it, and let him gently down with the bridge: went on in that manner to the second, and all the . It is not easy to express the fatigues they undernt in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to upon the ground, because it was impossible for It was agreed, that with an m to keep their legs. adful of men the enemy might have entirely defeatthe Roman army. At length, after infinite diffities and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found elf out of danger.

(s) As the conful seemed then to have entirely overme the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius ought this a proper time for presenting Marcius th the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of air resolution to join him with all their forces, and share with him in all the labours and dangers of swar: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans their good-will in the kindest terms, told them bey might spare themselves the trouble and expence, at war would give them; that he would dispense the both; and that in the present posture of affairs, had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this scourse Polybius's collegues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army, till the conful, having received advice, that Appius furmed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, distincted him home, with advice not to suffer his republic to surnish those troops, or engage in expenses entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to smand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæ-

⁽s) Polyb. Legat. 78.

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ans, or laying a fnare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing!

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and la mented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; † sent the gilt statues at Dium on board his sleet, lest they should fall into the hand of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures laid of at Pella should be thrown into the sea, and all his gallies at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he re

tired to Pydna.

The conful had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two forests; by the one he might pene trate thro' the vallies of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter further into Maco donia; and both those important posts were possessed by ferong garrisons for the king. So that if Persen had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered The faly by Tempe, and the conful would have had m pass for provisions to him. For the ways thro' Temp are bordered by fuch vast precipices, that the en could scarce sustain the view of them without dat ling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four feveral places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able el ther to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get thro' them, must have been obli ged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy

[†] These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

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ving possessed themselves of the eminences. ply choice they had left, was to open their way thro' eir enemies to Dium in Macedonia; * which would ave been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had ot deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel; for in aking a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow efile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have biolutely that them out, and stopt them short. ut in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown he king, he neither faw, nor did, any thing of all the neans in his power to fave himself, left all the palles of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge

r Pydna with precipitation.

The conful perceived aright, that he owed his fafey to the king's timidity and imprudence. He orered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to eize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus ad abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and fent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the vay to Dium. When he was informed that the ways vere open and unguarded, he marched thither in wo days, and encamped his army near the temple of lupiter in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being blundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly furprifed, that the king had abandoned t so easily. He continued his march, and made himfelf master of several places, almost without any reistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where he prætor Lucretius had informed him, he might ind provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired

g the Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis dissicultatis, and erat. Liv.

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its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took He raclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resume fpirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn a his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. An dronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, ha delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might foon follow that command, as indee it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was foon repaired by divers, who brought in almost the whole money from the bottom of the feat To reward their fervices, the king caused them all u be put to death fecretly, as he did Andronicus an Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much confequence or in-

portance.

(t) When Polybius returned from his embasfy into Peloponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after the council assembled at Sicyon to delibe rate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not fent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that

⁽t) Polyb. Legat. 78.

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fore any thing was fent to Appius, it was necessary inform the conful of his demand, and to wait for s decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved e Achæans the fum of an hundred and twenty thou-

nd crowns at least.

(a) In the mean time arrived ambassadors at Rome om Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the hodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expresd themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias ad constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should entinue to do fo during the war; but that having romifed Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he dered, if it were possible, that they would grant him mat favour, and make such use of his mediation as mey should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having fet forth a lofty style the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share the victories they had obtained, and especially in hat over Antiochus, they added: That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perfeus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, beelibe cause it had pleased the Romans to engage them on xity. their fide; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had fuffered many inconveniencies le, it from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the they and found itself in great straits, from the reduction were of its revenues, and other advantages arising from licate commerce; that being no longer able to support such of the considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Ahodians thought it necessary that he should make that the Romans, and that they were also sent that to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a pro-

(a) Liv. l. 44. n. 14, 15. 16.

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posal, the Rhodians should know what they had to

It is eafy to judge in what manner fo vain and profumptuous a discourse was received. Some histori ans tell us, all the answer that was given to it was to order a decree of the fenate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their profence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most fensible part; for the pretended to an authority over both those people Others fay the fenate answered in few words: That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigue with Perfeus, had been long known at Rome. when the Roman people should have conquered him of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective me rits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usua presents.

The conful Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to fend him cloaths for the soldiers; that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were

exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do

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much, if not with the same regularity, at least m time to time. Not being able to diffuade him om the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself m his councils under different pretexts, that he ght not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, nich he could not approve. At length, seeing himof become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traifor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great fervice to the conful. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favouble reception, and provided magnificently for his ablistence.

Sect. IV. Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus sollicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus, near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Emilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, duringthe winter quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he fuffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.

1) THE time for the comitia, or the assemblies to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the onfuls, who had been employed for three years against

⁽b) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. 44. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æm. p. 259, 260.

Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous vide ries, which had been obtained against his father Phil lip, who had been obliged to fue for peace; against Antiochus, who had been driven beyond mount Tau rus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what wa still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greates general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to qui Italy, after a war of more than fixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the ap prehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguish ed, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessar to chuse a general for his wisdom, valour, and expe rience; in a word, one capable of prefiding in fo in portant a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his ca pacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valou and conduct. Paulus Emilius was near fixty year old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been confi thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people re paid his fervices with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, tho he had so licited it with sufficient ardour. For feveral years he first had led a private and retired life, folely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever fucceeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded

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his care. All his relations, all his friends, made fances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the confulship: but believing himof no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunhonours with as much follicitude as others generally purfue them. However, when he faw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; hat they fummoned him to the forum, and exclaima highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his counmy, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he remed less to receive the command of the army, than p give the people the affurance of an approaching and complete victory. The confulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his collegue, tho' Livy fays it fell to him by lot.

It is faid, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on feeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, You don't know then, faid the, that our Perfeus is dead, pappa. She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perfeus. And at very good time, my dear child, faid Paulus Æmilius, fruck with the word, I accept this omen with joy. The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind eneral

of fortuitous circumstances very high.

(a) The manner, in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded ars he first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedo-

⁽a) Liv. l. 44, n. 18, 22. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 260.

report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troop which were necessary to be added both by fea a land. They were also to inform themselves, as new as possible, of the number of the king's forces; when they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter wen actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely pa fed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which them were dubious and wavering; and who the might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might h fupplied with them either by land or water; what ha passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced go neral, he thought it necessary to be fully appriled it all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The fenate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of P. Æmilius, who fet out two days after.

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During their absence, audience was given the am bassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus king of Syria; which

have been related in the preceeding volume.

The commissioners had made good use of their time Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: That the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual polsession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipæus That the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines. That to the other inconveniencies, a very fevere winter had happened, from which he they could not but fuffer exceedingly in a mountainous country,

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untry, and be entirely prevented from acting; and at they had only provisions for fix days: that the my of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to firty thousand men: that if Appius Claudius had en sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychdus in Illyria, he might have acted with good efagainst king Gentius; but that Claudius and his goods were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately fent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was intirely in want of feamen and folders: that those who remained, had not received their pay, and had no cloaths: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shewn themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause; and that it feemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: But that as for his brother Attalus, his goodwill was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Emilius had given his opinion, the fenate decreed, that he should fet forward, without loss of time, for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another ime prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post had lear Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops into each of them was to command, was regulated in the

That following manner.

pole The troops, of which the army of Paulus Æmilius each confisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight æus: Jundred men; that is of two Roman legions, each oman composed of fix thousand foot and three hundred horse; ight, as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice veni the number of horse. He had besides, six hundred hich horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary nous troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole

in all probability did not amount to thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together, made for the thousand two hundred men.

made fifty-fix thousand two hundred men.

As the war, which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken, that might conduce to the success of it. The consult and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served; and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chuse out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: He had twelve for the two

legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have feen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the per fon amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his times. They had resolved that no of ficers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were diffinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or feniority; to which indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. did more: by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left a entire liberty to chuse such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of perfect union between the general and the officers who ferve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the foul of the army, and ought to dired all its motions, which cannot be done without the belt

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the bell A understanding between them, founded in a passion the public good, with which neither interest, jea-

bufy, nor ambition are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the conful aulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assemy of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. You feem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected conful, or entered upon that office; and to me your joy feemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reafon to believe that the fame gods +, who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also affift me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war fuccessfully: But of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wifely regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I am charged with; and as I am ordered to fet out immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that my collegue C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public fervice, will raife and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition, as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as a great " favour, that you will not give credit to, nor lay " any weight out of credulity upon the light reports, " which are frequently spread abroad without any " author. I perceive well, that in this war, more " than any other, whatever resolution people may

[†] It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the ditinity presides over chance. " form

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" form to obviate these rumours, they will not fall " to make impression, and inspire I know not what " discouragement. There are those, who in com-" pany, and even at table, command armies, make " dispositions, and prescribe all the operations of the They know better than we where we " campaign. " should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for " us to seize; at what time, and by what defile we " ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to " have magazines; from whence either by fea or " land we are to bring provisions; when we are to " fight the enemy, and when lie still. They not " only prescribe what is best to do, but for deviate " ing ever so little from their plans, they make ita " crime in their conful, and cite him before their " tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad " effect with your generals. All have not the refo-" lution and constancy of Fabius, to despise imperti-" nent reports. He could chuse rather to suffer the " people upon fuch unhappy rumours to invade his " authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preserve "their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from " believing, that generals stand in no need of advice: "I think, on the contrary, that whoever would con-" duct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and "without counsel, shews more presumption than pru-"dence. But some may ask, how then shall we ad " reasonably? In not suffering any persons to obtrude " their advice upon your generals, but such as are in " the first place, versed in the art of war, and have " learnt from experience what it is to command; and " in the fecond, who are upon the fpot, who know " the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, " and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be any " one, who conceives himself capable of affisting me " with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that " fervice, but let him go with me into Macedonia: thip, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied fail

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him at my charge. But if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be silent upon them, and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as

fhall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds ith reason and good sense, thews that men are the ame in all ages of the world. People have an increable itch for examining, criticifing and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: To reason; for what can be more absurd and ridicolous, than to fee persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, fet themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a maisterial air upon their actions? To justice; for the nost experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of tme, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to fee a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiofity and vanity of human nature; and geferals would do wifely, after the example of Paulus Emilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opimons of idle people, who have nothing elfe to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

(a) Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom

he command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations or the war at Rome, Perseus on his side had not been

afleep.

a) Liv. 1. 44. n. 23-29. Polyb, Legat. 85, 87. Plut. in Paul. Smil. p. 260, 261.

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afleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of hi avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria three hundred talents in money, (that is three hundred thonfand crowns) and purchased his alliance at that price

He fert amballadors at the fame time to Rhodes convinced that if that island, very powerful at the time by fea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also n Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wish in having recourse to these measures, and in ender vouring to strengthen himself by such supports; bu he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprise. He did no think of puting those remote powers in motion, il he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affain next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and affociates of his ruin, than aids and sup The instructions, which he gave his ambass dors, were very folid and perfuafive, as we are about the to fee; but he should have made use of them three the years fooner, and have waited their event, before he ha embarked almost alone, in the war against so power jea ful a people, with fo many refources in case of mile op fortune.

The ambaffadors had the fame instructions for both Pe those kings. They represented to them, that there bef was a natural enmity between republics and monar four chies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the lindignity, that they employed the forces of the kings and themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the affishance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and in some measure by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and feed. Prulias

rusias against himself. That after the kingdom of lacedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the ext to experience the same fate; of which they had ready usurped a part, under the specious colour of e-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and hat Syria's turn would foon follow. That they had already began to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them either to incline the Romans to ive Macedonia peace; or if they persevered in the mjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in fecret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the fame subject, which had began to render that prince very much suspected by the Robaffa mans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, about that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; three the enormous power he would then have had, would ore he have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his ower jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare f mi openly against, or to make war upon him. But in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; r both there befal him; the Romans, from being weary of a war sound foun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already greed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen talus; fundred thousand crowns.) The only difference that time by amained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took sees and sees, and in the mean time offered to deposite the Prussas. hopes to fee the two parties equally inclined to peace;

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money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he infisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the

treaty.

He failed also in another negotiation which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other fide of the Danube, confisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horse-man, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders that in towns and villages, thro' which they were to pass, great quantity of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Mace. donian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He fet off in the best terms the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to fend their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondic s, the general, and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked whether he had brought the fum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question; S

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nestion: Go, said he, and let your prince know, that Il he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls vill not stir from hence. The king, upon the return of is deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what hey would advise; but as he was a much better guarian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be langerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his fole apprehension was for his money; but no body dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to infult them so grosly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy lought evalions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and difmissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, refumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the fiver Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the ountry, because they could have brought no provisors as before from Thessaly, which would have been

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entirely laid wafte. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great

an advantage.

The fame vice made him lofe another of the fame nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had a length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raifing troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had ne gotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with then persons he could confide in to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, w join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an all ance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, afa that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not part be able to make head against the three powers united to e Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible partimerks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages which and the taking of oaths on both fides, it only remain and to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambal their tadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella where the money was told down to them, and put in the Market of the Illyrian repaired to Pella where the money was told down to them, and put in the Market of the Illyrian repaired to Pella where the money was told down to them, and put in the Illyrian repaired to Pella where the money was told down to them, and put in the Illyrian repaired to Pella where the money was told down to them. where the money was told down to them, and put in the to chefts, under the feal of the amballadors, to have conveyed into Illyria. Perfeus had given orders under the hand to the perfons charged with this convoy, it is well in the convoy. march flowly, and by finall journies, and when the en arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to ftop for as his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchu lavin who had remained at the court of Illyria, made prel hich fing instances to the king to declare against the Roon, to mans by some act of hostility. In the mean while a is his rived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate a Analliance with Gentius. He had already received to the talents by way of earnest, and advice that the who wing fum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicit eto: t10

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ns of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human d divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imisoned, under pretence, that they were spies. As on as Perseus had received this news, believing him ficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Ros mans by fo glaring an act, he recalled those who carmed the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in fecret, upon the good fuccess of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in faving his money. But he did not see, that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according the maxim of Philip and his fon Alexander, the nost illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, That victory should be purchased with money, and not money faved at the expence of victory.

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved memploy all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace and to declare against that, which should refuse to accept proposals for an accom-

modation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul Micedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and

nicios into Illyria...

The fuccess of the last was as rapid as fortunate. e was to carry on the war against Gentius; and put end to it before it was known at Rome, that it n the op for as begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. auch aving treated Scorda, the capital of the country, e pre hich had surrendered to him, with great moderahe Room, the other cities soon followed its example. Genhile at shimself was reduced to come, and throw himself Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing th tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in who wing abandoned the party of the Romans. The folicit etor treated him with humanity. His first care was

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to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sen one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to cam the news of his victory, and some days after cause Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, chil dren, brother, and the principal lords of the country, The fight of fuch illustrious prisoners very much aug mented the people's joy. Public thankfgivings wen made to the gods, and the temples crowded with vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, h found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foots the mountain Olympus, in places which feemed inac cessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose bank were very high; and on the fide where he lay he ha thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from fpace to space, on which were placed balistæ, and ther machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Person had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes w weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to fubili his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country a

ready eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had n cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thought folely in preparing every thing for action, and wa continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He begand establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army which he found corrupted by the licence wherein had been suffered to live. He reformed several things as well with regard to the arms of the troops as the duty of centinels. It had been a custom amongst in foldiers to criticise upon their general, to examined his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe him con duct, and to explain upon what he should or should lays. ‡ Vi denues dono, not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dig nity. He gave them to understand, that such di courle

ourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to ake only three things his business; the care of his ody, in order to render it robust and active; that shis arms, to keep them always clean, and in good ondition; and of his † provisions, that he might be lways in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by his discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. No body was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharping their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and enuring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to soresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were

determined to conquer, or die.

The camp was fituated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface ‡ was scarce † The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provision for ten or twelve days.

† Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigenes turbidæ primo & enues emicare, dein liquidam multamque sundere aquam, velut deûm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoq; res duci samæ & auctoritatis

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broke up, when springs of water were seen to run muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. The event, the' natural, was looked upon by the foldien as a fingular favour of the gods, who had taken Paula Emilius under their protection; and made him mon

beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perfeus faw what passed in the Roman cama the ardor of the foldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises, by which they prepared them selves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the gene ral. He redoubled his attention and application on his fide, animated his foldiers, employed himself in form of the ing them by different exercises, added new works to Octa the old, and used all means to put his camp out of dan and a

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Inip Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpress to challe ardor to signalize themselves also on their side. had For it is common, when two armies act in different paus parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the catio other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavour He k ed at first to suppress this news, but his care-to dissem dispo ble it, only ferved to make it more public, and certain mucl The alarm was general amongst his troops, who ap ins

prehended the fame fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who his t came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had so highly offend ed the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner present they were received in the camp. Some, in the height sore, of their anger, were for having them dismissed was express his contempt for them, was to reply cold to look to the senate.

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that he would give them an answer in fifteen

75. To shew how little he made of the pacific mediaon of the Rhodians, he affembled his council to deberate upon the means of entering upon action. It probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed that the Macedonians who the year before had been driven from the Roman. and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the fea coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the nipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius all ad quite different views. He faw, that the Enipaus, as well from its natural fituation as the fortifitations which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of fuch impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his foldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He he kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch fays, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay to long in the presence of each other, in such profound found peace, and so persect a tranquillity. In am other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardor and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taugh them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrha bian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way thro' Perrhabia which led to Pythium, a town fituate upon the brown of mount + Olympus: that this way was not of diff. cult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sem thither a detachment of five thousand men. ceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real defign. He fent for the prætor 00 tavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take to days provisions with him for a thousand men; in or der to make Perseus believe, that he was going to na vage the fea-coast. At the same time he made his fon Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the fea-fide to wards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, ac cording to what had been proposed in the council When they arrived there, the prætor told them the conful's orders. As foon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coast, they advanced without halt ing, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts,

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[†] The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was fituated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.

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next day in the morning detached his light-armed ops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a flight engagement in the course of river itself, which was then very low. The banks each fide, from the top to the bed of the river. had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the fight of the king and conful, who were each with troops in the front of their camps. The conful cused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The Is was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and conmued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The conful loft abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay fill, and feemed to defign to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the renainder of the night. Perfeus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his fecurity, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king terrifed with the news, detached immediately ten thouand foreign foldiers, with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with al possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived a Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. very rude engagement enfued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspence. but the king's detachment at length gave way on all fides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursual them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the

plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseu they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he in mediately decamped, and retired by his rear, feizel with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or m divide his troops into his towns, supply them we with provisions, and expect the enemy there, wh could not subfift long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither for rage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniences, and argue the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or refource; not to mention the hated he had drawn upon himfelf by ruining the country which he had not only commanded but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to thatd the Romans; that his troops were determined to be have well, having their wives and children to defend that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with doubt ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, affigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Ro mans as foon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and lest there were a ridge of little hills, which joining toge.

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ner, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a feure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in ank. The whole front of the army was covered by wo small rivers, which had not much water at that ime, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their

ranks.

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Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and havng joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into he plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had confidered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would sly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses thro' defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let lip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly, replied the conful to young Scipio, I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present satisfy yourself, and rely Vol. IX.

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" upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was filent, well convinced that the conful had

good reasons for acting as he did.

After having spoke thus, he commanded the troop, who were at the head of the army, in view of thee nemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, a if they intended to engage. They were disposed according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers (a) covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions sile off gradually, be ginning with the rear, which was nearest the work men, and drew off the whole army into the intrendent, and drew off the whole army into the intrendent, without consustion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his side, seeing the Romans declined sighting, retired also into his camp

It was an inviolable * law amongst the Romans tho' they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well fortified campaby that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served in stead of walls, and the tents, for houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge, and if victorious, the

found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having to ken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little to hanged its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitins Gal listed

(a) Hastati Principes Triarii.

Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercits ducebant esse. —— Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumes pro mœnibus & tentorium sinum cuique militi domus ac penass sunt.—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo persugium. Liv. 1.44 n. 39.

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s, one of the principal officers of the army, having lembled the foldiers, with the conful's permission, ad apprifed them of the eclipse, and shewn them ne exact moment when it would begin, and how ong it would continue. The Roman soldiers therebre were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were eized with horror and dread; and it was whispered hroughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold

he ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very eligious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the facrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied limself to offering oxen to Hercules. He facrificed twenty one after another, without finding any favourble fign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one and twentieth, he imagined he faw fuch as promised him the victory, if he only defended himelf, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a facrifice to the fame god of an hundred exen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he affembled his council. He had heard complaints of his flowness in attacking the enemy. He defired therefore to give this affembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not had having given battle the day before were: First, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his gal own, which he had been obliged to weaken confidetile sably by the great detachment for the guard of the aggage. In the fecond place, would it have confifted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painreits ful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain. In the last place, he insisted strongly on H 2

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the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp be hind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, * that there is a wide difference be tween the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chuse his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wife delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate pres-

pitation might have exposed to ruin.

Tho' the resolution for fighting had been taken of both sides, it was however rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians rate to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the kings troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulu Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shield

^{*} Divisa inter exercitum dueess; munia. Militibus cupidines pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione se pius quam temeritate prodesse. Tacit. Hist. 1. 3. c. 20.

his foldiers in fuch a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their fwords; and he faw at the fame time that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brafs, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression, that dreadful fight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt the fuccess of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and ferene countenance, rode thro' all the ranks without helmet or cuirafs, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than fixty years of age, was feen expoling himself to danger and fatigue like a young

officer.

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The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the enfign of his company, and toffed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves in consequence like desperate men upon that battalion. Aftonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their fwords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their lands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themfelves an entrance between them. But the Macedo-mans always keeping close order, and holding their pkes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and ave those such great strokes that flung upon them, hat, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldof the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beafts, upon he spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death hey saw before their eyes.

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The whole front-line being thus put into diforder, the fecond was discouraged, and began to fall back They did not fly indeed; but instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount + Olocris. When Pau. lus Emilius faw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme forrow to see, upon the fint troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable in trenchment; and continuing invincible, it could new ther be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the from of battle not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one fide, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troom not always acting with the same vigour, fight allo with different fuccess.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the fame time. This order, given fo critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which confifted folely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman thields, which were very strong and folid, and

[†] That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

overed them almost from head to soot; on the conary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce ischarged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour sly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty,

and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off sull speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a facrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god, that would receive the facrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: Whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by

fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx, where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest refistance. It was there also, that the fon of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword which flipt out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran thro' the ranks, and affembling a body of brave and resolute young foldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody flaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. ported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon fuch of the enemy as flood firm; fo that at length the three thoufand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces;

not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to

fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest sled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they sound the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that five and twenty thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in the battle, seeing the soot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with

wreaths of + ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever

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[†] This was a custom with the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others covered with ivy. L. etium Lentuli & non-unlorum tabernacula protecta hedera.

bing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only with two or three of his comrades, all cowred with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmihas thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was referved for other tears and mins no less to be deplored. The young Roman of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the fon of Scipio, the conqueror of Hanibal. The conful immediately dispatched three couers of distinction, (of whom his son Fabius was one)

to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his slight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pela, with all his horse, which had escaped from the batde without striking a blow. The foot foldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and raitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high-road, and that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him, took different routs from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had imployed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being

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fo bold as to represent to him the faults he had com. mitted, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely los him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia open. ed their gates to the victor, and made their fubmil fion.

The conful having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy fituation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from

thence into that island.

(a) He was encamped at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perfeus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not for bear shedding tears, when he reslected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Emilius, greeting: The stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of

⁽a) Liv. l. 45. n. 3—9. Plut. in P. Æmil p. 269, 270.

An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontiers of Macedonia.

condition, extinguished in him all sense of comflion, and tho' the tenor of the letter was couched an humble and suppliant style, and little confisted th the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies withat an answer. How haughty were these proud reblicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediatein this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissio ers hould be fent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because on the one de Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Emilius on the other infifted, that he hould submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours

were ineffectual.

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A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himfelf, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of his fanctuary. In the affembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he faid to them: " Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly fo. "How then, continued he, do you fuffer its fanctity to be violated by an homicide, contami-" nated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as " all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of " those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your very temple to be profaned and defiled by the prefence of an infamous murderer?" This accuation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather

rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended affaffination of Eumenes. They fent therefore to tell the king that Evander was accused of affassination, and the he should appear, according to the custom of the fanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or he was afraid to do that, that he should take measure for his fafety, and quit the temple. The king, has ing fent for Evander, advised him in the strongel terms not to submit to that sentence. He had h reasons for giving him this countel, apprehending h would declare, that the affaffination had been under taken by his order, and therefore gave him to under stand, that the only method he could take was n kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent toil and professing, that he had rather die by poison that the fword, he intended to make his escape by flight The king was aware of that defign, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their refent ment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him be killed. This was polluting the Sanctuary with new crime; but he corrupted the principal magisfield with prefents of money, who declared in the affen bly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon him felf.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him to board, with all his treasures; they amounted to the thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But suspicious as he was, he do not disposses himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped a

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e gold and filver that had been fent him in the eening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to ome to the port at midnight with his children, and ch of his people as were absolutely necessary to at-

and his person.

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The appointed time approaching, Perseus with inmite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, croffed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treafires followed him. His grief and despair were inexrestible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under fail. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misformnes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly furrendered himself and Philip his on to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the conful; having fift apprifed him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius lent his fon-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended on-ly by his fon. The conful, who waited for him with a inficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from his feat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raifed him immediately, and would not fuffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made hi tent, he made him fit down, facing those who form-

He began by asking him; "What cause of disanimofity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers." When instead of the answer which evebody expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ound, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æ-VOL. IX. milius

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milius continued to this effect. " Had you afcended "the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at " your being ignorant of what it was to have the "Roman people for your friends or enemies. But " having been present in the war made by your fa "ther against us, and certainly remembring the " peace which we have punctually observed on our " fide; how could you prefer war rather than peace, " with a people whose force in the former, and fide "lity in the latter, you had fo well experienced!" Perfeus making no more answer to this reproach that he had done to the first question: " In whatsoever " manner notwithstanding, resumed the consul, these " affairs have happened; whether they are the effect " of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of " chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all "things, take courage. The clemency with which " the Roman people have behaved in regard to ma " ny other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, " do not fay with some hope only, but with almost " intire confidence, that you will meet with the " fame treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Per feus: Then turning towards the Romans, " You' " fee, said he in his own language, a great example to A " of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you This " principally, young Romans, I address this discourse in th "The uncertainty of what may happen to us every kingo "day, ought to teach us never to use any one with ors, " infolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely ome " too much upon our present advantages. The proof rom of real merit and true valour is neither to be to of th " elate in good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune" Mace Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged boalte Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him and a

^{*} Exemplum infigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihila quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credit fortuna, cum, quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, de jus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet. Lit that

at day to his table, and ordered him to be treated oth all the honours his present condition would ad-

nit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Pertus, which had continued four years; and with it a lingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perfeus had (a) reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the † fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first hat reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest

cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, ill the time of Philip, fon of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Afia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, hbjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one fide, and the Indians on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander by his fucceffors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during comething more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height, to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the fo much boalted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more

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⁽a) Liv. I. 45. n. 4.

[†] Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth, Justin the thirsieth. It is thought there is an error in the cypher, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth, with Eusebius.

justly, the example of the most vain and most fran-

tick ambition, the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence in their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the sourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been sought in Macedonia, and Perseus intirely deseated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole circus. But when the magistrates, after a stride enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or soundation, that salse and shortlived joy ceased, and lest only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely descated; that he was slying, and could not escape salling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples stilled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their

fignal protection vouchfafed the republic.

(b) After the nomination of new confuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius: Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free;

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⁽b) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. 45. n. 17-18.

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order that all nations might know, the end of the-Toman arms was not to subject free people, but todeliver fuch as were enflaved; fo that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always reain their liberty, and the other, who were under the. mle of kings, might be treated with more lenity and instice by them, in consideration for the Romans; or hat, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The fenate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land-estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that wherever fuch fort * of farmers are fuffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation; left the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a dedructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an afsembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anious having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrifons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as foon as possible. In regard to some people, who either before or during the war had declared for the

[†] Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem buis nullam esse. Liv.

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Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

(c) Before the deputies for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited during the autumn the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a facrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon in saying, That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, sirnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiofity in feeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the fea, which is

there very frequent and extraordinary.

Erom thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon failed for

(c) Liv. 1. 45. n. 27—28. Plut. in P. Æmi.l p. 270. ‡ For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

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Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous

voyage from the goddess.

After having palled thro' Oeropus in Attica, where the foothfayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects prefented themfelves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: The citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a facrifice to Minerva, the tutelary

goddess of the citadel.

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Whilft Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians, to fnith the education of his children, and a fine painter to defign the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: A very fingular and extraordinary praise, which was-confirmed by experience and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time feventeen years old. He thought it necessary however to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most negleded. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have only to confider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul. who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grand-father by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius

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his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numan. tia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues who held it for his honour to have Polybius the hifto. rian, Panetius the philosopher, and Terence the poet for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a + writer of excellent sense, never faid, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he fought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well fatisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable fight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, leh opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich prefents, the offerings of fick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not diffinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, cu-

stoms and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he faw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, fays Livy, as if he had feen the god himself, and cried out, that I this Jupiter of Phidias,

+ P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisq; L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniiq; ac sudiorum eminentissimus seculi sui; qui nibil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac sensit. Paterc. 1. 1. c. 12.

To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majely

of God, is much more to that of Homer,

was

as the exact Jupiter of Homer. Imagining himself the capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here

Man he had done any where elfe.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's houghts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the alies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demerias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident, which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confded that important prisoner. He put him with Philip his fon into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger fon, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered fuch care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

(a) The commissioners being come thither, as had been agreed on with them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where agreat number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Emilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all assairs should be dif-

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cuffed and adjudged: that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contrast marriage, or purchase lands or houses out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several as ticles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced then in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the di minution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceed ing pleasure, who little expected them: but they look ed upon the division of Macedonia into differen regions, that were not to have their usual comment with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by feparating its members, which have no life, and file fift only in their mutual support of each other.

(a) The conful afterwards gave audience to the Em lians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

(b) After those foreign affairs were over, Paulus L milius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were w be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A lift was then read of the principal person of the country, who were to be fent to Italy, with fuch of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was foon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better fecurity of the people's liberty. For this life included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all fuch as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embaffies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of flaves, and to command other with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, in form

(a) Liv. 1. 45. n. 31. (b) Ibid. n. 32.

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d would not easily be reduced to a quite different and of life, in which liberty makes the whole people wal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefre all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magifrate.

(a) To these serious affairs succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparation had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent acrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying fuch great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted folely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced fo nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit, and there was no body, who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance fo distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not reglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think at to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all forts, and had caused them to be disposed in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he set

⁽a) Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. 45. n. 32.

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fire to them first himself, as his principal officers di after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of in greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grate ful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration as himself. And as people were surprised at the sine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius, which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the sirst it rendered an army sormidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His difinterest and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver sound amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profess.

When Paulus Æmilius (a) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after

(a) Liv. 1. 45. n. 33, 34.

having

aving exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the berty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve by good government and union, he fet out for Eirus, with a decree of the fenate, to abandon all the ities, that had revolted to the king's party, to be lundered by his troops. He had fent also Scipio Vasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to avage the country of the Illyrians, who had given

aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. therefore fent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrifons; in order that the Epiots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then fignified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and filver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and at ten of the clock the foldiers fell furiously upon the houses, that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made flaves, and after the cities were pillaged. their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of feventy. The whole booty was fold, and of the fum raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds sterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural difposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the lea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having affembled the remainder of Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose

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cause had been reserved for the judgment of the se.

nate, to follow him into Italy.

(a) Paulus Æmilius, being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galler, which had fixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found a mongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the fide of the river, and feemed to give the pro-conful an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had fo well deferved. But the foldiery, who had look ed with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them ther had promifed themselves, retained a warm resent ment upon that account, and were very ill fatisfied with Paulus Emilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their fuffrages. The foldiers called that general's exactitude in point of discipline rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarica, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom however they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the in periority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been fo magnificent. It cont nued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that feems for reign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and filver veffels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of maffy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had cauled to be made, and weighed (b) ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hindred thousand crowns

(1) The talent weighted fixty pounds.

⁽a) Liv. 1 45. n. 35-40. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 271.

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gle led was adorned with jewels, and confecrated to Jupi-

er Capitolinus.

Behind these rich spoils and treasures, which were arried in pomp, was feen the chariot of Perseus with his arms, and upon his arms his royal diadem. At ome distance followed his children with their governors, præceptors, and all the officers of their houshold, who shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two fons and a daughter, who had little fense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilft their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public by, the people could not refrain from tears at to mournful a fight.

King Perseus walked after his children, and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his missortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own missortunes, they

were fensible solely to those of their king.

It is faid that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself. He reproached in those sew words his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

K 2

That's to be proved.

Paulus

Paulus Æmilius feated in a superb chariot, and mag. nificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two

ions on each fide of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the missortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried by the order of the senate to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, surniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from sood. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

This fecond article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

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SECT. I. Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm folicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achaens carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country, when only three hundred of them remained.

(e) A Mongst the different embassies from kings and fl states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him; more than all others, the eyes and atention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Afiaic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applanses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had approved in the army in Macedonia a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

⁽a) A. M 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Polyb. Legat 93. Liv.l. 45. 19, & 20,

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not fuggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His fecret negotiations with Perfeus, of which they had been apprised, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their fide, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak folely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the se nate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver be tween Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give itto himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may ferve to unvail it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itielf.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who with out doubt did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject fuch pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The atfair went fo far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should

be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratios, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had fent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recal him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and pene-

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ration, and his manners were very infinuating, and well adapted to perfuafion. Having either discovered, or learnt from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of ifelf, and but very lately established, had subsisted. and been improved folely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them indeed enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male islue, (for the fon he had afterwards, and who succeeded him was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that confidering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the ime for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would foon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he defire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it intirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by fuch division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him at his years into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but fuch thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the scepter from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the fame scepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and

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nesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons, who less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a fincere, prudent and difinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wife remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the fenate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the fenate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modelly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He defired, that they would fend ambaffadors to check the infolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Enus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretentions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised before-hand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents.

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hey promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had lest Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him, and before the prince was out of Italy, declared knus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent however an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and shewed an aspect very unlike the frankness and

probity of their ancestors.

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(a) The fenate fome days after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themelves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, fent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the fenate with great dificulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with fighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortinate country. He took great care not to shew at Inft his defire to justify it. He knew, that it had of the Roman people: he confessed its faults: he called to mind the indiscreet embasly, which the insolent pride of the orator who poke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons dilavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented that there was no republic nor city, that did not include some bad mem-That after all, there were no other crimes ob-

⁽a) Polyb. Legat. 93. 99. 100, & 104. Liv. 1. 45. n. 20-25.

jected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, ex. travagant, (which he confessed to be the characterist tics and failings of his nation) but fuch as wife per. fous feldom lay much stress upon, or punish with ex. ceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thun. ders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity, "But, faid he, the neutrality, observed by us in the " late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our " enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in " the world, wherein the intention, when without " effect, is punished as the action itself? but let your " feverity be carried to that excess, at least the pu-" nishment can fall only on those who have had this " intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and in-" action make us all criminal; ought the real fer. " vices we have rendered you in the two preceeding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not " cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let " Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus bear witness now " in our cause. The voices of the two first will cer-" tainly be for us, and absolve us; and for the third, " at most and in the severest fense, the sentence must appear doubtful, and uncertain. Can you then, " according to this state of the question, pass a fatal " decree against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subfist any long. er, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war " against us; but not a fingle Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your relentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole eity, men, women, and free perfons will embark, with all our estates and effects; we will abandonour " houshold gods, as well public as private, and come " to Rome; where, after we have thrown our gold

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^{*} Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum este, ut siquis vellet inimieum perire, si nihil secerit quo id siat, capitis damnetur. Liv.

and filver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives and our children, to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes whatever you shall think sit to instict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may by your resolves declare yourselves our enemies; but there is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts that declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themelves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the fenators with olive-branches in them to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by the order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the fair. All who had ferved in Macedonia in quality of confuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Porcius Cato, the celebrated cenfor, known by the feverity of is character, which often role to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, De Originibus, wherein he had inferted his own Orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius (a) has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it, at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energical stile, which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention

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⁽a) Liv. 7. c. 5.

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was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegand of words.

Cato + begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperit generally excites pride and infolence. That he and prehends in the present case, they may form relob tions, which may draw fome misfortune upon Rome and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give them felves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity " fays he, in humbling the spirit, restores us to on " reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done " Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manne " out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and " makes us lose fight of the measures, which a cala " fituation of mind would enable us to difcern, and " execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely " of opinion, that we should defer the decision of " this affair, till having recovered from the violen " emotions of our joy, we may be masters of our felves, and capable of deliberating with more management." " turity." He adds, " That he indeed believes the " Rhodians were far from defiring, that the Roman " should have conquered Perseus; but that they had " fuch fentiments in common with all other States; " fentiments, which did not proceed from their en mity to the Romans, but from the love of the own liberty; for which they had just cause to sea, " when there should be none in a condition to disput " empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodian

† Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolitis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam as gescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia ha res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quia nostras secundas res consutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose est niat. Adversæ res se domant, & docent quid opus sit facto: se cundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo aque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc se aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostras redeamus.

did not aid Perseus. Their whose * crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us, that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure, I would not. The † Rhodians, it is said, are proud. I should be very forry, that my children could justly make me that reproach. But pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than we are?"

The opinion of fo grave and venerable a fenator, as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. enswer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in sufnence. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Annochus, and now taken from them by way of puhithment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents (about 25000 l.) of Ptolemy's general, and the fecond had been given them by Antiochus and seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or 15000 l.) At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which confiderably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a million of drachmas, (about five and wenty thousand pounds sterling) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid fterwards only an hundred and fifty thousand (a-

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Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. It quis tandum est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum centat quempiam pænas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere oluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nosim.

[†] Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime dici velim. Sint sane superbos. Quid id ad nos attinet?

Une irascimini, siquis superbior est quam nos?

bout three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds

fterling.)

The fenate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the re. public, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to infensible of small ones. How hard foever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. decreed, at the fame time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of + ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to folicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, the for all most an hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a fetch of their politics. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own mafters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be in ported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted a allies, not to fecure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove by that change all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, grant ed them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm licitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commifioner, to examine into its condition, was of great fervice to them upon this occasion. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the fenate's of ders, and had condemned the partifans of Perseus 10 death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

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[†] This might amount to about fix thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσθς) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

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(a) I have before observed, that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycifchus and Tifippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had furrounded the fenate with foldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been fent into banishment; and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which fide the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the paries concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned if it was just; or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This fentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three sactions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject slatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of me-

⁽a) Liv. l. 45. n. 28, 32.

dium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly afferting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who estimates the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perse us; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners appoint. ed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave then to understand, that, besides those who had declared publicly for Perfeus, there were abundance of others, fecretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colou of afferting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continu quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart, was fully established The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an affembly, that was determined to confider, and treat all as criminals who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all that should declare themselves their accusers and enmies, with abundant graces and favours. We see her to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duy and decency, and induce them to facrifice justice, a well as every thing else, when it opposes their viens The virtue of the pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attending from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to solo low him to Rome, there to make their defence. Com-

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Missioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such, as in public or private,

had favoured Perseus.

(a) Of all the small states of Greece, none gave the Roman republic fo much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was compoled. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have feen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had fold himless, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he inspected to have had any inclination to support Perleus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they ent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achaeans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, would refuse obedience to the letters that should be rote them; and that Callicrates, and the other inormers, would run the risque of their lives in the as-

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⁽a) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. 45. n. 31. Pausan. Achaic. p. 416, 417.

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fembly: the fecond, because in the letters, which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other (Paufanias does not fay which) complained in the fembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had affifted Perseus against the Romans and demanded, that they should be condemned as de ferving death, after which he should name them. The whole affembly was shocked at this proposal, and on ed out on all fides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn perions before it was declared who the were, and pressed him to make known the guilty Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replaced ed, at the fuggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rep dered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very mid respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have " commanded the armies, and have had the honor "to be chief magistrate of the league; I protest " that I have never acted in any thing contrary to " the interests of the Romans, which I am ready " " prove either in the affembly of the Achæans, of " at Rome before the fenate." The Roman tool hold of this expression, as favourable to his design and decreed, that all those who had been charge by Callicrates should be sent to Rome, in orders justify themselves there. The whole assembly wa in the highest affliction upon this sentence. No thing like it had ever been known, even under Phil or his fon Alexander. Those princes, tho' irresisting powerful, never conceived the thought of causing ind as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, be

referred the trying of them to the council of the Am

phictyons, their natural judges. The Romans

not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which

nay justy be called tyrannical, caused above a thouand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league, to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopæmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed those learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in

his writings.

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As foon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two fons of Paulus Emilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipio's. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, fon of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged fufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this fecond Ion of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of fuch a friend, and knew how to apply his designs and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome. When

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the fenate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

(a) The Achæans, furprised, and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, fent deputies to Rome, to demand that the fenate would vouchfafe to take cog. nizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it them. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the fame deputies to Rome, (with Euræas at their head to protest again before the senate, that those Achaans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orden he had received, praying, that they would take cog. nizance of the acculation, and not fusier the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished, the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leifure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as thould evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. No. thing was more equitable than this demand, and the fenate was very much at a loss how to answer it. the one fide they did not think it proper to try the eause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to difmiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in The fenate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby

(a) Polyb. Legat. 105.

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collicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece into a consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

(d) However, they fent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they

would perfift in the regulations already made.

(e) The Achæans would not be rejected, and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in sull light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exists.

(f) The Achæans, having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored

⁽d) Polyb. Legat. 121. (e) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Id Legat. 129, 130. (f) Plut. in Cato Cenf. p. 341.

to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave fenator, rifing up to speak in his turn: " To see us, faid he, "dispute an whole day, whether some poor old men " of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, would not one be. " lieve, that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleafantry was all that was wanting to make the fenate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine it at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus, Polybius was for defiring, that they might be rein. stated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, fmiling, "Polybins, vou do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are " for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for fome " miserable tatters you have left there (g)." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he foon rejoined Scipio, feeing three years after he was with him at the fiege of Carthage.

SECT. II. Mean flatteries of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus his brother succeeds him, as guardian to his son then very young. War between Attalus and Prusia. The latter having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digressian upon the city of Marseilles.

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⁽g) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

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AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment, they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king

of Bithynia, and fome other particular affairs.

(a) Prusias being come to Rome, to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congrarulation upon the good fuccess of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head haved, and with the cap, habit, thoes, and stockings of a flave made free; and faluting the deputies, You fee, faid he, one of your freed-men ready to fulfil what soever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs. When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who fat, and proftrating himfelf kiffed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, I sahite you, gods preservers, cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius fays, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands aken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had pofeffed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his fon Nicomedes to them. le asked was granted him; only commissioners were oppointed to examine into the condition of the lands

⁽a) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. 97. Liv. 45. n. 44.

in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

(b) Prusias had scarce left Rome, when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. En menes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in fuch a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for vio lent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with for tunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbad all kings in general w enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be figure fied to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

(c) This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to savour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf.

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⁽b) Polyb. ibid. (c) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165, Polyb. Legat. 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 119, 121.

hat people had also sent deputies to Rome with their omplaints; which they afterwards repeated feveral mes, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet deare themselves. They contented themselves with iding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians under-hand, the utmost of their power, without doing any ma-

nifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, fent his brothers Attalus and Athewas thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to refute all complaints against the king, and the senate were to well fatisfied with it, that they fent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not however entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

(a) Sulpicius acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that fuch as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty that fet all male-contents at work,

and opened a door for all manner of calumnies.

(b) Tib. Gracchus, whom the fenate fent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to he senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the fifter of Enmenes.

⁽a) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 145.

⁽b) A. M. 3840. A t. J. C. 164. VOL. IX.

That prince died some time after. His (a) son Aria. rathes, sirnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called Philopater, that is, lover of his father. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

(b) As foon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

(c) Some time after, notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius king of Syria, and one of his eldest brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holophernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also this ther. The senate decreed (d), that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus in the first year of his reign re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length after having reigned thirty eight + years. He lest for his successor (e) in the kingdom his son Attalus, sirnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Aria.

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⁽a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Died. Eleg. p. 895.

⁽b) Polyb. Legat. 121.

⁽c) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. 126.

⁽d) A. M. 3847. + Strabo fays, he reigned forty three years, but that is prefumed to be a error.

⁽e) Strab. l. 13. p. 624.

thes, and appointed guardian of his fon, and regent his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who

overned the kingdom one and twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. ody of that prince, fays he, was weak and delicate, is foul great and abounding with the most noble senments. He gave place to none of the kings (a) his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled hem all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The lingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, confisted only of a very small number of ciies, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered fo powerful, that it might have disputed preheminence, with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the refult of his prudence, labour and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons than any prince. To mish his character, he possessed so full the art of enraging the respect of his three brothers, and of keepng them within bounds by his authority, without leting them perceive it, that tho' they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the fovereignty, they neer failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his fervice, fifted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find fuch an example of uthority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which loes great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that s, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

(b) The division which had almost perpetually sub-

⁽a) Polyb. Exempt. virt. & vit. p. 166. (b) A. M. 3848. Ant. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. 128. 129, 133, 135, 136.

fifted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who fucceeded the latter. Prusias having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted, that he had failed of seizing Attalus, (a) let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenaus to Rome, to implore aid of the fenate, who fent feveral embassies at different times to forbid Prulias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to feize the Roman ambassador and At. talus. His defign was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this the was contented with fending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus however, with the aid of his allies, had affembled numerous armies both by fea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the fenate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and refuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to in-

(a) A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

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rm the senate of the rebellion of Profias. At length e opened his eyes, and new commissioners from ome obliged him to lay down his arms, and fign a reaty of peace which they presented him. This treaimported; that Prufias thould give immediately eventy deckt-ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thousand crowns). in the space of twenty years; that the two kings hould keep within the bounds of their own dominions, fich as they stood before the war; that Prusias in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, hould pay them an hundred talents, (an hundred thouand crowns.) When he had accepted and figned thefe conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by fea and and into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attales and Prufias.

(a) Attalus the younger, son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a royage to Rome; in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuation of their amity, and without doubt to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his same. He received from the senate all the marks of savour he could have expected, and all the honours shitable to his years; after which he set out for his sominions.

(b) Prussas also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he have him instructions to demand, that the enate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to spatch the young prince, in order to advance his hildren by a second wife. The savour demanded by rusias was resused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrat-

⁽a) Polyb. Legat. 140. (b) A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Ppian, in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. L. 34, C. 44.

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ing, that the whole fum was far from being equal to the lotles his master had sustained from him. Menas, in. stead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes, The young prince (a) having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the affistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party; for Prusias was univerfally hated for his op. pressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was flain by foldiers fent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each fide! Prusias was called the hunter, and had reigned at least fix and thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

(a) This king of Bithynia's person had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in fize but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft, and incapable of satigue; in a word, equally esseminate in body and mind; desects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all, amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had go

verned them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a fentence passed on them by ils

Sicyonians,

⁽a) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. (b) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

cyonians (a), but under the authority of the Roman nate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having id waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to denand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers, Carneades of the ed of the Academics, Diogenes of the Stoics, and Critolaus of the Peripatetics. The tafte for elouence and philosophy had not yet made its way so ar as Rome; it was about the time of which we are beaking, that it began to spread there, and the repuation of these three philosophers did not a little conribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and musement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which folidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was univerfally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and fostening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses translated nto Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome faw with great joy their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed forry or it; apprehending, that this tafte for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge, and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting, well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates

⁽a) A. M. 3849. Ant, J. C. 155. Cic. l. 2. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. 1. 7. c. 14.

how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. How. ever it were, he warmly reproached the fenators, for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city, and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

(a) The other embaffy was fent by the people of They had already been often haraffed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to fentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their infolence fo far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the conful Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. fiege to the city (b) where the infult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made flaves of the inhabitants, and fent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deferts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in feveral battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to fend hoftages to Marfeilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molefting the people of Marfeilles as they had done ull then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordi-

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⁽a) Polyb. Legat, 131. & 134. (b) Egitna.

ary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they ad constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by (a) origin of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes fent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabiants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as fo many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after vaious adventures, having cast a mass of red hot iron into the fea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim apon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they ettled there, by the confent of the king of the counry, and built a city fince called Marfeilles. This. foundation is faid to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the fortyfifth olympiad, and fix hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son (b) did not shew them much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by great entreaties obtained a fecond term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself abfolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had in consequence at first a rude war upon their hands, but having been victorious, they continued in the quiet possession of the lands that had

(b) Justin. 1. 43. c. 4.

⁽a) Herod. 1. 1. c. 164. Justin. 1. 43. c. 3.

been granted them, within the bounds of which they

were not long confined.

(a) In process of time they settled several colonies and built several cities, Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia, which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arfenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

(b) So many new fettlements contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned wonderful change in them. The Gauls quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wife government. learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives *. Hence so surprising an alteration enfued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been faid Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

(c) The inhabitants of the new city made very wife laws for its polity and government, which was Aristocratical, that is to fay, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of fix hundred fenators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assem-

blies, in quality of principal magistrates.

(d) The right of hospitality was in singular estima. tion amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no perion was suffered to enter the city with arms.

(a) Strab. p. 180.

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(a) (b) 1 † Ea cenam contine

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⁽b) Justin ibid. * Adeo magnus & hominibus & rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigraffe, sed Gallia in Græciam translata vide-Juftin.

⁽c) Strab. l. 4. p. 179. (d) Val. Max. 1. 2. c. 6.

in persons were placed at the gates, whose business was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to fuch as might have been or introducing floth and a voluptuous life; and partimlar care was taken to banish all double dealing, false-

bood, and fraud.

(a) They piqued themselves especially upon sobriey, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable ortion amongst them did not exceed an hundred neces of gold, that is to fay, very near an hundred pifoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than eve in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (b), who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city, fays he, stedfastly retaining the + ancient severity of manners, excluded from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the fubject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. " Lest, adds the author, a familiarity with fuch fort of shews should make the people the more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic facrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased ‡. "For, is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, for not having thought sit to share his immortality with

" 11S? "

⁽a) Strab. p. 181. (b) Lib. 2. c. 6.

[†] Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in cenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

[‡] Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri no-

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseille highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricol his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excel lent education he had received from the care and ten. der affection of * Julia Procilla his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the mol early years of his youth in the study of those arts and fciences that fuited his birth and age: He adds "What had preserved him from the dangers and di " orders, to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good " fortune of having from his infancy the city of Mar-" feilles for his school, in the manners of whose in " habitants the politeness of the Greeks, and the " fimplicity and referve of the provinces, were hap-" pily united." Arcelat eum ab illecebris peccamium, præter ipfius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam la buerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parfimonia mistum ac bene compositum.

From what I have faid may be seen, that Marfeilles was become a celebrated school for politenes, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all are and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, sabulous theology, and all kinds of literature were publicly professed there. This city produced (a) the most ancient of the learned men of the west, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts

and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of

Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marfeilles for education; and he prefers that place to the

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^{*} Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, puestiam adolescentiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricol. c. 4.

ty of Athens itself; which is faying a great deal. Ve have already feen, that it retained that privilege

the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marfeillians distinguished themselves no less y the wisdom of their government, than by their apacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his rations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of goerning their republic. * "I am affured, fays he, that not only in Greece, but all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wife polity established at Marleilles. That city, fo remote from the country, manners, and language of all other " Greeks, fituate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous " nations that furround it on all fides, is fo prudently " directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its

government."

(0) They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whole manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interest; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

(p) Justin relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls

^{*} Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Grætiz, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam : que tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguaque livifa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctius alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta audare facilius possint, quam æmulari. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 63.

⁽⁰⁾ Strab. p. 180. (p) Just. 1. 43. c. 5.

had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that difafter of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and filver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and fent it to Rome. The (q) Romans, infinitely af. fected with fo noble an act of generofity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of fitting amongst the senators at the public shews. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill fuccesses, which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæfar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wifdom of its government. Cæfar, (1) against whom they had thut their gates, caused the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was forry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of perfuading them. After having made their report to the fenate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cafar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: That it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their fide: That the two heads of those parties were

(q) Liv. l. 21. n. 20. 25, 26. Lib. 26. n. 19. Lib. 27. n. 36.

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⁽r) Cæst. in Bel. Civ. l. 1.

* Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas : neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiorem habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium & C Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.

equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (s) suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not resuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports, antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the

Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and fome other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

Sect. III. Andrifcus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor fuventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are

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⁽s) Id. 1. 2.

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(a) DIfteen or fixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the ton of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country ac. knowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported where ever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had canfed him to be fecretly brought up at A. dramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the fecret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, figned by Perfeus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing the was to deliver to him, Philip, as foon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keep ing the fecret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; preffing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he faw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose fister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

⁽a) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epiton. Liv. l. 48, 50. Zonar ex Dione. l. 1. c. 11. Florus, l. 2, c. 14.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended obility, and had nothing in his mien or manners nat expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great conempt, without much trouble to keep a friet guard apon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the fake of delivering themelves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to feem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nafica to go thither, and appeale this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he hould find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wifdom, and executing it with valour. As foon as he irrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessalv, he gave the senate advice of them; and without loss of time visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, sorgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

(a) However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a

⁽a) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

speedy support. The prætor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to repair thither as foon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But look. ing upon Andrifcus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by savour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority fufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or referve; as if the being truly a king confisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he foon recovered all he had loft in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his conrage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had fucceeded Juventius. Andrifcus had refolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor foon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andrifcus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigirance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the alvantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andrifeus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he re-

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urned foon after with another army. He was fo ash as to hazard another battle, which was still less accessful than the former. He had above five and wenty thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but o seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing apon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the on of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Aexander, had the same fate with the first, except being feized by Metellus: He retired into Dardania,

where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected

to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and fet himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of thort duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward firnamed Scrofa, from having faid that he would disperse the enemy, ut Scrofa Porcos.

SECT. IV. Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appeale those troubles; they are ill used and infulted. Metellus, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle and defeats them. The conful Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle takes Corinth, fets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

(a) TEtellus, after having pacified Macedonia. continued there fome time. Great com. motions had arose amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of thole, who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and pal. sions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus not. withstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had canfed war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had fent to defire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating But neither he, nor Diæus who their differences. fucceeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived; the assembly was fummoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league, and for that end to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the se nate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were feeluded from the league, under pretence, that thole cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the affembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmoniaus

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⁽a) A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Paufan. in Achaic. p. 421, 428, Polyb. Legat. 143, 144. Id. in Excerpt. de virt. & vit. p. 181, 189. Just. l. 34. c. 1. Flor. l. 2. c. 16.

ey found in Corinth; tore those out of the house the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had

hey not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his collegues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but in-Gructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counfels, lest by their imprudence they should incur Afgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed hem to it. Carthage was not yet taken, fo that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies b powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy tent by the feditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemhe. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their dicourse concerning the ill treatment of the commisfioners, or excused it better than the Achaens themlelves would have done; and were as referved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremey agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. but Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the stame of discord; minuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achaean league should declare against them. The

The commissioners, however, were treated with fufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be fent to Rome; that they had only to re. pair to Tegæa (a), to treat there with the Lacedamo. nians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and perfuaded the Lacedamo. nians to an accommodation with the Achaens, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Cri. tolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress; and he did not arrive there, till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the confent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be funmoned in less than fix months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in sact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosty and aversion, which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the assar between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and discontinuous construction.

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⁽⁶⁾ A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

ofed the multitude to receive such orders as he ought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right adgments of the suture, they suffered themselves to caught with the bait of the first advantage he pro-

posed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the me the council was affembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves by imprudent ashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously mrned out of the affembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and infilted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that me in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more fantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been perfuaded, that Rome intended to enflave them all, and abiolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, feeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, inflamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; slew out against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these editious discourses he prevailed to have war declared gainst the Lacedæmonians, and in consequence indicated against the Romans. The ambassadors then exparated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out or Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metel-

us at Athens.

The magistrate of the Boeotians, whose name was lytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered

tered into his measures, and engaged the Boeotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to som. port all the weight of the Roman power, so much

were they blinded by their rage and fury.

(a) The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the confuls, and charged him with the Achaean war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, fent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promifes, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and confent, that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismenbered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtaineda confiderable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the flaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and fix hundred horse. He gave orders belides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhaufted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they forelaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. SeE

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They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and never-

theleis came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Boeotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently defired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants. on their fide, were equally defirous of feeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power. the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not feen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Soficrates, who talked of furrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of inding every thing pacified at his arrival; and lest mother thould have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus refigned the command to him, and returned nto Macedonia. When Mummius had affembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard, being ne-

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gligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a fally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and purfued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp, This fmall advantage very much encouraged the A. chæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Dians offered the conful battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; fo fully did they affure them. felves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-sounded conf. dence. The faction had removed from the fervice and councils all fuch as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and france rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in fo ftrong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous refiltance. The battle was fought near + Leucopetra, and the defile of the Isthmus. The conful had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustain-

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ed by the horse, it was soon broke and put to slight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some some, and obtained an honourable capimlation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his house, fet fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had

committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without council, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther refistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens quitted it the following night, to fave themselves where they could. The conful having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the foldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the fword, and the women and children fold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for feveral days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, tho' it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, filver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was exccuted by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

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Thus was Corinth ruined, the fame year Carthage was taken, and destroyed by the Romans, nine hun. dred and fifty two years afterits foundation by Aletes, the fon of Hippotes, fixth in descent from Hercules, It does not appear, that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or fummoned any affembly to deliberate upon the mea. fures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public cala. mities, or endeavoured to appeale the Romans, by fending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and univerfally difmayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achaans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being difarmed. The ten commissioners fent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the conful, abolithed popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were lest in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achaans, Boeotians, Phocoans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece; the Roman people sent a prætor thither eve-

ry year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation

themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was fold, and confiderable fams raited from it. Amongst the paintings there. was a piece drawn by the most celebrated + hand in . Greece, (a) representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mornification to fee that painting ferve the foldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the fale made of the booty, for-fix hundred thousand sesterces, that is about three thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the fame painter's, which the fame Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: Attalicis condisionibus. Nevertheless those sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the conful, surprised. that the price of the painting in question should rife. high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. # He did .

Majores nostri — Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus insulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne offet aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de offet l. 1. n. 35.

[†] This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, as in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are thing in comparison to the Bacchus.

⁽a) Strab. 1. 8. p. 381. Plin. 1.7. c. 38. & l. 35. c. 4. & 10.

† Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum-copiosissimam urbem
mitus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit.

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uanquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus a
abstinentiae

did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he fent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, fays Cicero, he adorned and embel. lished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richel and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble difinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and feemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's felf, was not only shameful and infamous, but a crimi. nal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to fee it out of curiofity, as a master-piece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. † He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a deposite, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed, almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to poster

abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum — Habere quæstui remp. non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nesarium. Cic. de Offic. 1. 1. n. 76, 77.

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[†] Mummius tam rudis suit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artisicum persectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si cas perdidissent, novas cas reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica suerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantum ca intelligi; & quin hac prudentià illa imprudentia decori publico suerit convenientior. Vell. Paterc. l. r. n. 13.

ity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he conided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at

their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance fill subsisted; and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of tafte of the present age for fuch fort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that tafte for excellent paintings amongst the magistrates, was the occasion of their committing all manner of

frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have faid that Polybius, on returning into Peloponneius, had the affliction to fee the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. (a) If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero, taken down, had the impudence to profecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed. their designs to the utmost of his power. That accufation was extravagant, but had some colour in it. and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopæmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the later times; that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he, had rendered the Roman people.

⁽a) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, 192.

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considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his graitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopoemen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, tho' they had already been carried-out of Peloponnesus into Acamania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erested a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his difinterest eduels, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopæ. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought properto punish the authors of the infult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and esfects were fold by auction. When those of Dixus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quastor, who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought it out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himfelf in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's erimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; befide which, he believed it infamous to enrich himfelf out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to defire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

(a) This action made the commissioners conceives high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving.

⁽a) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

Greece, they defired him to go to all the cities which ad been lately conquered, and to accommodate their ifferences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had bearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.

Polybius, after having established order and tranquilby in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the slege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed theret(a) the esteem, gratitude and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his

horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and firnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andriscus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost sive and twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

⁽a) Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was firnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were as. terwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECT. V. Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece.

A FTER having feen the final ruin of Greece, A which has supplied us thro' a series of so many ages, with such fine examples of heroic virtues, and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and confider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rife, progress, and declension of the principal states, that compose it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the

infancy of Greece.

The fecond age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length role fo high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

(a) The Greeks, as Monf. Boffuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated

(a) Universal History,

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w kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who ettling in feveral parts of the country, spread univerally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learnt the exercises of the body. wreftling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, an effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing raught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to fuffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamiries of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: The Greeks were taught to confider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wife, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private perions, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might foon be deprived; whereas power of en becomes haughty, unjust and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or a continual duration.

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The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, sought the next in the rank of a private of sincer, and was not assumed of the most common functions either in the armies by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments,

and fervices rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and indued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The essects ed all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We come now to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, thut up within the obscure compass of their cities, had but faintly dawn, and shone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to shew herself

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erself abroad in open day such as she was. And his was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of me East, overstowed on a sudden like an impetuous porrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops both by sea and land against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only refist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. he reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which hone out at that time, and continued to do fo long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for fuch aftonishing fuccesses, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have menfoned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a fecond nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, difregard of self-interest, attention to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcileable abhormence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dis-

fention and discord in a moment.

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There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or smaking conquests, at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, imvoc. IX.

P provement.

provement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and

ulages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their al. femblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wifdom of their government; and we are tempted to de. mand of ourselves, from whence could arise this great. ness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wifdom in politics, this profound and universal know. ledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places or for the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the fea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a folemn treaty.

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their

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great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, sugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the desence of their liberty and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to esseminate pleasures and luxury: they however never suffered themselves to be insected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and filver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamin, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees.

This is what it remains to shew.

Fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this mannner, by bribes secretly conveyed into the

hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned the victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of powers from these causes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them, Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeable, coloured their defign with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands, which had conquered the univerle, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, rouzed from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called into its aid, foon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their antient ideas. After having, with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the

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me Macedonian power, they subjected all those statesone after another under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

(a) It did not lose with its power that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, referved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla (b), who punished them so cruelly fixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy the Athemians were feen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, (c) who fought for the republic. Julius Cæar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of confideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till folicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this

 ⁽a) Strab. 1. 9.
 (b) Plut. in Sylla.

⁽c) Diod. l. 42. p. 191. & l. 47. p. 339.

glorious empire. She fent her most illustrious citi. zens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of found philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natu. ral things, the rules of manners and duties, the an of reasoning with justice and method: All the treafures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the me thod taught of treating the greatest subjects with pro. priety, force, elegance and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, con. ceived he wanted fomething, and did not blush to be. come the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make him.

felf in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shews better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny (a) the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan. " Call to mind, dear Maximus, that you are going " into to Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece " where learning and the polite arts had their birth; " where even agriculture was invented, according to "the common opinion. Remember, that you are " fent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any " fuch there were; who, by their virtues, actions, al-" liances, treaties and religion, have known how to " preserve the liberty they received from nature. "Revere the gods their founders; respect their he-" roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the " facred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great " exploits, and even fables and vanity of that peoof ple. Remember it is from those sources that we have derived our law; that we did not impole Sect

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"our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs, at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was reforted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chryfostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their fource, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves (a), who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being entrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take tellons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit but solely upon the sorce of arms. Plutarch observes some-where, that no Greek

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⁽a) Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek, was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It feems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am however obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hi. therto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Sviia, in which feveral kings not only fucceed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This in. duces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This finall chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and ferve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clearfighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be fet right: I infert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty-five, to three thousand nine hundred and forty five.

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As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thousand nine hundred and thirty nine.

SECT.

SECT. I.

A chromological abridgment of the history of the kings.

A. M. Kings of Egypt.

3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned fomething more than 34 years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his bro-

ther Evergetes or Physcon.

2859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwise called Physicon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

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of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EU PATOR, aged nine years, 3840. succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, fon of Seleucus Phi- 3842. lopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends

the throne.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving 3851. himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had

reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost 3859. five years. Ptolemæus Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.

DEMETRIUS NI-

3859.

ANTIOCHUS THE- 3860. os, fon of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom.

DIODOTES TRY- 3861.
PHON, after having got
rid of his pupil Antiochus, afcends the throne.

3863.

Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner and confine him. He hadreigned seven years.

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Demetrius

A. M.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

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3874. Physicon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physicon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twentynine years.

PTOLEMY

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS SIDE- 3864. TES, brother of Demetrius, after having over-thrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra Demetrius's wife marries him.

Antiochus Sidetes 3873. marches against the Parthians.

The Parthians fend 3874. back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is flain.

ALEXANDER ZE- 3877.
BINA, supported by Physicon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed foon after.

3880.

388r.

Zebinais overthrown 3882. by Grypus, and dies foon after.

3884.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

SELEUCUS V. eldest fon of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.

ANTIOCHUS GRYpus, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.

Cleopatra designs to poilon Grypus, and is poiloned heriels.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3887. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, fuc. ceeds Physicon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldest fister, and marry Selena his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to

Alexander her youngest son.

had reigned ten years. She fets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

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KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS THE 3890.
CYZICENIAN, fon of
Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms
against Grypus.
Cleopatra, whom Lathe graph address obligad

thyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenian gains 3892. a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.

The two brothers are 3893, reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria.

Cleopatra gives her 3903. daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty 3907 feven years.

SELEUCUS his fon fucceeds him.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the

Cyzicenian.

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Antiochus the Cyzi- 3910. cenian is overthrown, and put to death. A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916. Alexander is expelled himfelf: He had reigned nineteen years. He died foon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

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A. M.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.

PHILIP his brother, third fon of Grypus, fucceeds him.

DEMETRIUS Euchares, fourth fon of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSUS, fifth fon of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.

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ANTIOCHUS EUSE- 3911-BES, fon of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king.

Eufebes marries Selena widow of Grypus.

3912.

3913.

3914.

Eusebes, overthrown 3316. by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians.

He is re-established 3918. upon the throne by their means.

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A. M.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. fon of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.
3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

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KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

3921.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

Eusebes takes refuge 3923. in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.

Selena his wife retains part of Phænicia and Cælo-Syria, and gives her two tons a good education.

Syria, being unpro-3935. vided with troops, Antiochus Asiaticus, fon of Antiochus Eulebes, takes poslession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

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Pompey deprives Antiochus Afiaticus of his
dominions, and reduces
Syria into a province
of the Roman empire.
The house of the Seleucides is extinct with
him.

SECT. II. Antiochus Eupator, aged nineteen, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long an hostage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two Ptolemies, brothers and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.

* WE have long lost fight of the history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connexion with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them,

which will not be interrupted any more.

(a) Antiochus, sirnamed Eupator, aged only nine teen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter at his death sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner, as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the

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^{*} It is treated last towards the end of book 18. article 2. sect. 2, and 3.

⁽a) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 2 Maccab. vi. 17. 2. ix. 29. & x. 10, 13. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. C. 14

reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the affishance he wanted for the re-possession of his right, and the expulsion of the

usurper.

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Much about the same time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the perfecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betraved the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his fervice. For, how advantageous foever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they did so much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being confer'd on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treaion, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

(a) Judas Maccabæus at this time fignalized his valour by feveral confiderable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit

⁽a) 1 Maccab. v. 1-68. 2 Maccab. x. 14-38.

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him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always confidered the Jews as rebels, defirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience, with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the

lews.

(a) Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, who from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his twenty third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Enpator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the fon of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establithment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the fenators as his fathers, and their fons as his brothers. The fenate had more regard for the interests of the republick than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and lent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The fame ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences of the two kings of Egypt.

⁽a) A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb, Legat, 107. Justin. 1. 34. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.

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(a) Lysias, terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourfcore thousand toot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourfcore elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle Arange inhabitants that worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the fiege of Bethfura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Jedas Maccabæus, and the whole people, befeeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to fend his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with affured courage, out of Jerusalem, there * appeared a horieman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That fight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand fix hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without

(b) After this check, Lysias, weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, believing the fews invincible, when supported by the aid of the Almighty God, made a treaty with Judas, and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of an hundred and twenty thou-

⁽a) 2 Maccab. ix. 1-38. x. 1-7. xiii. 1-24. 1 Maccab. v. 65-68. vi. 19-63. Joseph. Antiq. c. 12. (b) 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.

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fand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five and twenty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and deseated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This deseat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity and success in war. He shewed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar

manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of an hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, two and thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, The victory of God, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them in the night attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with consusion and dismay.

Tho' the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt, but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He reiolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people,

Sect. 2.

and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his boldly to the elephant thro' the line of battle, kil and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitula-

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From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would like them have been obliged to furrender, if providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding af-fiftance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been faid elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple; with the fight of which he was to much terrified, that contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had fworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The fudden return of Antiochus drove Philip VOL. IX. R

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out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

(a) The troubles occasioned by the divisions be tween the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physicon, the youngest, sirnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on soot, very ill drest, and with sew followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As foon as Demetrius, fon of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use, He found him twenty-fix miles, that is at nine or ten leagues, distance from Rome. Prolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his prefent, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very fmall house. His design by all these circumstances was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the fenate were informed of his arrival, they fent to defire he would come to them; and to excuse

⁽a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Euf. Scalig. p. 60, & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322. Valer. Max. 1.5. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 113. Epit. Liv. 1.46.

their not having prepared a house for his reception. and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank; they assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprized them, and had been kept fo fecret, that they were not apprized of it, till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards having defired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by fome of the fenators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the questors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expence of the publick, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had reprefented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of
the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go
with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to
be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the
province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon: Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each
of them was declared independent of the other in
the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and
sacrifices.

But oaths and facrifices had long been, with the generality of princes, no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themfelves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, distaitssied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to

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the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, tho' Co. prus should be granted him, his part would still he far from equal to his elder brother's. Menethyllos, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physicon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother fnatched him from their refentment, by making himself mediator. That, at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region alloted to him, and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The fenate feeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For fuch was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection: They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with fo much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable, if it fell into the hands of one fovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physicon. Demetrius, who did not lose fight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to

put him into possession of it.

(a) During that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physicon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometer did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

(b) The Cyrenæans, in the mean time, informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been over-thrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all tope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to sollicite their procession. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal

(a) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

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⁽b) A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. 132. Id. in xcerpt. Valef. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 334.

decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to

quit Rome in five days.

Physicon found means to re-establish himself in Cv. renaica; but made himself so generally hated by his Subjects, thro' his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, wounded him in feveral places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the fenate. shewed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the affaffins from whom he received Tho' Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the fenate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not fo much as hear what his ambassadors had to fay in his defence. Orders were fent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physicon into Cyprus, and to put him into possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

(a) Physcon by this means, with an army, which feemed to him sufficient for the execution of his defign, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expect-

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⁽a) A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

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ed, that having him in his power, he would make him fensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing, and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which rise from nature, and prevent resections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

Sect. III. Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the name of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus: death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time.

(a) WE have seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who

⁽a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. 114, and 122. Cicer. Philip. 9. n. 4, 5. Justin. 1. 34. c. 3.

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went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the great, after the battle of mount Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in fuch a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupport. able, and exasperated the people against them. A per. fon, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was bath. ing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias the regent of the kingdom had fecretly a hand in this as. fassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The fenate sent them back without giving them any answer, to fignify by that filence their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men, who had loft their lives in the defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon shewed

This Octavius had been conful some years before, and was the first of his family, who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. 9. n 4.—Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

him how much they were in the right. As the fenate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer. and had the mortification of a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with most warmth to put it in immediate execution with fecrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him +. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had stollen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

(a) Demetrius having landed at Tripoli in Syria, 2 report spread, that the senate had fent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius faw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes,

[†] That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

⁽a) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. and 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. 12, 13. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Justin. l. 34. c. 3.

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Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capa. city; because he had profaned the fanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes: this man gather. ed together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judza, and puting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers; advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that sell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and feek their fecurity elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Baechis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thoufand blasphemics against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was foon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news Demetrius

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news of of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed

upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprizes of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the fenate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him in cafe he persevered to do so. But, before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As foon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcinius, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that small number, thro' an excess of valour and considence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which

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he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the go. vernment put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to re-call Bacchis.

(a) Demetrius indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of A. riarathes, king of Cappadocia, he fent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he fent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing sollicitations, obtained at length by their means what he defired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

(b) To cultivate their amity, he fent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand † pieces of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gra-

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⁽a) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 165 Polyb. Legat. 120.

⁽b) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. 122. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. 25.

[†] They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

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titude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his

benefactor.

(a) Demetrius, who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little fingular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one fide to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and on the other to the pleasure of good chear and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administred; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was general suspence of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was ormed for deposing him. Holophernes, who conti-

⁽a) A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 3. then. l. 10. p. 440. Justin. l. 35. c. 1. Vol. IX.

nued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his be. nefactor, slattering himself with obtaining the crown, if the enterprize succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had

fome pretenfions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed (a). The male-contents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war De. metrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing some body to personate the fon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretentions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have faid already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his refidence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the defign I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him and infructed him fully in all that it was necessary to lay or do.

(b), When he was fully prepared he begun by caufing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the fecret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he

(b) A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

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⁽a) Polyb. Legat. 136. & 140. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. 5. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the fenate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him affistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly faw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was meer fiction, they entered into every thing defired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were diffatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander fon of Antiochus Epiphanes, affumed the title of the king Syria. Many of the male-contents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He asfembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his fide. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and fent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander feeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals alsoto him, in order to bring him over to his fide. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of Friend of the king, fent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still out-bid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest

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of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the confert of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles. which happened foon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant feven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priefthood, which at that time came into the Almonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he

disposed of at pleasure.

(a) The two kings having taken the field, Deme. trius, who wanted neither valour nor good fense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander foon received new troops from the three kings who had fet him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having besides this the Romans and fonathan on his fide, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deferted alfo, because they could not bear Demetrius. prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, fent his two fons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their fecurity in cafe of misfortune. He confided them, with a confiderable fum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order, if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in fafety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

(b) It was at the fame time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andrifcus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the

hope of conciliating their favour.

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⁽a) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. (b) A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.

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(a) The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decifive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being loft, at their return, they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his fuccess. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himfelf master of the empire of Syria.

(b) As foon as Alexander faw himself at repose, he fent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of

honour.

(c) Onias, son of Onias III. having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to infinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate consident. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; alsuring him that savour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: At

(b) 1 Maccab x. 51,66.

⁽a) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

⁽c) Joseph. contra Appian. 1. 2.

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the same time, the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great diffi. culty was to make the Jews come into this innova. tion; it being forbid by the law to offer facrifices in any place but the temple of Jerufalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretel's this event in these terms (a): In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and fwear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction. (M. Rollin fays, the city of the fun, or Heliopolis.) In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the torder thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord be. cause of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do facrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord and perform it.

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer facrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more in consequence to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophesy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

(g) Alexander Bala, finding himfelf in the peaceable

(a) Ifa. xix. 18-21.

⁽b) A. M. 1856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. l. 50. Justin. l. 35. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. 13, c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67, 89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

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possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That infolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the fifter of Demetrius and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia, Antigonus, Demetrius's fon, who had continued in Syria when the two others were fent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood royal he could find, in order to fecure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon

drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counfel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for reposlessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There foon joined him a sufficient number of male-contents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his feraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could affemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who perfisted in his attachment to Alexander: But his success did not answer his design, and in one day he

had above eight thousand men.

(a) Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found him self, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Paiestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to shew their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and ac-

knowledged by all the inhabitants.

(b) Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to size and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and sled with size hundred horse to † Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person, in whom he had placed most considence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who ex-

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⁽a) A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. † He is called Enrascuel in the Maccabees.

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pressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some sew days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-sive. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the sirname of Nicator, that is to say the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECT. IV. Physicon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, sixnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physicon's excessive follies and debauches. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regreted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.

CLeopatra, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place (a) the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cy-

⁽a) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contr. Ap. 1. 2. Justin, 1, 38, c. 8, Val, Max. 1, 9, c. 1.

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renaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her desence, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassidador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the sirname of Physcon given to this prince, was only a nick-name. That which he took himself was Evergetes, which signifies the Benefactor. The Alexandrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say on the contrary, one who delights in doing harm; a sirname to which he had

the justest title.

(b) In Syria affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those

who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phænicia and Syria to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all

⁽a) Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20-3/-Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 8.

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he Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingy executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in yria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of uft horror for fo barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him mmediately, and returned home. After which he aused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had ferved under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest chemies, by depriving them of the fole means they had to subfift. He found this fully verified in the inhrrections and revolutions which afterward happened.

Jonathan, however, feeing every thing quiet in Judra, formed the defign of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolators still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be rought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. pnathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. arried with him a great quantity of magnificent preents, and appealed the king and his ministers fo fuccessfully, that he not only caused the accusations, hich had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of evour. The whole country under his government vas discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes,

for

for the fulm of (a) three hundred talents, which he

agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

(b) The king being returned to Antioch, and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed

for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards firnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the go. vernment of Antioch with Hierax, feeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of thefe, disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been entrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the foldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for fetting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His view was to make use of the pretentions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and affume the crown to himself, as he did. whether he penetrated his real defign, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at Tryphon was obliged to continue a confiderable time with him, to follicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and prefents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

(a) Three hundred thousand crowns.

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⁽b) Justin 1.38 c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74 xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. 1. 13. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. 52. Strab. 1. 26. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

Ionathan carried on the fiege of the citadel of Jerufalem (a) with vigour, but feeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison, which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion to his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would fend troops to chaftise the mutineers. Jonathan fent him three thousand men immediately. As foon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly, that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of fix fcore thousand men, and invested the palace with defign to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed that multitude with fire and fword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews. having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judah and Jerulalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned home laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death
for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others,
and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that
there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising and
making him experience the most dreadful effects of

their vengeance.

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(a) A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

Vol. IX.

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Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Tho' the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manisesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other male-contents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the sirname of Theos, which signifies the God.

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Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemies.

(a) Tryphon, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his

⁽a) 1 Maccab. xii. 39, 54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. e. 11. Justin. l. 36. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. 55.

design,

defign, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to found him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he thould get nothing by force against fo powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest affurances of a fincere friendship. He gave him to underfland, that he was come thither only to confult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was refolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately feized, and all his followers put to the fword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprize the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan, and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all fafe at Jerufalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to compleat the fortifications begun by Jonathan, at Jerusalem.

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And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine

army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded fo well with Jonathan. He fent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, be. cause he owed the king an hundred talents; (a) that if he would fend him that fum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostges for their father's fidelity, he would cause him be set at liberty. Tho' Simon saw clearly, that this proposal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by re. fufing to comply with it, he fent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor notwithstanding did not release his prisoner, but returned a fecond time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with defign to put all things to fire and fword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his defigns, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, (b) on his return into winter quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death, and believing after that he had no body to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his foresathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent

monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magni-

(a) An hundred thousand crowns.

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⁽b) A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. 31.

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ficent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inferted upon the infcription, as if it had come from him.

(a) The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea (b), and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wife from adverfity, and without fo much as feeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon fent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that Prince, a confirmation of the highpriesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnefty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length (c) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost over-run the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Afia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to fuffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely sollicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their

(b) Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34-42. &c

xiv. 38-41. Joseph. Antiq 1. 13. c. 11.

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⁽a) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16--40.

⁽c) A. M. 3863. Ant. J C. 141. Justin. 1. 36. c. 1. 1. 38. c. p. 1. 41. c. 5. & 6. 1 Maccab xiv. 1-49. Joseph. Antiq 1. 13. c. 9. & 12. Orosius l. 5. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian, in Syr. p. 132.

head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As foon as he appeared in the east, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his savour, and with their aid he deseated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm sooting, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for mis-

litary exploits.

Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces sounded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he lest the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people;

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Non multo post decessit, multis siliis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patriæ quam liberis consulendum. Justin.

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convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family, and to forget in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That Prince after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west,

and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetritus his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by shewing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, tho' in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, out of which he composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon

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folid foundations, gave it a firm confistency, effectual. It attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a confiderable change in the affairs of the Jewith nation. They had con. tended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of fovereign, as well as that of high-priest: they declared this double power, civil and facerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

(a) When queen Cleopatra faw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himselt in possession

⁽a) A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

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of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconfiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Those desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also asraid, lest the people of Seleucia should chuse rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promifed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when the was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any farther, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers,

he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

Accordingly the beginning of the following year, (a) he made a descent into Syria with an army of fo-

reign

⁽a) A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139. 1 Maccab. xv. 1-41. xvi.

reign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Afia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and

eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Pto. lemais in Phænicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phænicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamæa, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called Sidetes, or the bunter, from the word Zidah, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa, by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate in consequence caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, † Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the Islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Iews were their friends and allies, and in conse-

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[†] This letter was addressed to Demetrius, tho' prisoner amongsthe Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

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prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

(a) Physicon had reigned seven years in Egypt. fory relates nothing of him during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the All the rest of his fame time fo cruel and bloody. conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both faid and acted in public the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himfelf both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom in the reign of Alexander Bala the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards firnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physicon, and soon became his captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by caufing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wife and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

But.

⁽a) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Just. l. 38. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. 4. p. 184. & l. 6. p. 252. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1, & 2.

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(a) But, in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first mini. fter were no longer capable of restraining the folly of his prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the great. est part of those to be put to death, who had ex. pressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown as. ter his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenœus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at differetion, he terrified Alexandria fo much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that who foever would come and fettle there, of whatfoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragement and ad-There were confiderable numbers whom vantages. this propofal fuited very well. The houses that had been abandoned, were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Islands; in a word, in every place, to which these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors

(a) A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

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of Aexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been intirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Museum for the entertainment of the learned, and ereding his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second, and third, following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied, or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I fpeak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpole, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive where-ever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds, to (a) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had

⁽a) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. 1. 6. p. 273. & 1. 12. p. 549. Val. Max. 1. 4. c. 3. Diod, Legat. 32

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orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy what ever they should find amiss. They discharged them selves of this commission with so much equity, justice and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their in. structions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panetius the philosopher, and five domestics *. Not his domestics, fays an historian, but his victories were considered: He was not esteemed for his gold or his filver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Tho' during their whole refidence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be ferved with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most fimple and common meats; despising all the rest, as ferving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp foon assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their

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^{*} Cum per socios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipla sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argénti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur. Val. Max.

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own eyes, or were informed upon the places themfelves, the infinite number of cities and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its foil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found, that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the fequel. The deformity of his * body fufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: Nothing was ever worse put together. His statue was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a fize, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all its deformity might be seen thro' it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turnng towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling; The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishosoured not only the throne, but even human nature

Atheneus says, προκει μηθέπολε πεζός ει μη διά Σκιπίωνα. Which the derpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed

rpetuo Scipione subnixus; instead of nisi propter Scipionem.

^{*} Quam eruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. vultu deformis, & statura brevis & sagina ventris pon homini sed elluz similis. Quam fæditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis authat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni sudio ocultanda pudibundo viro erant. Justin. 1. 8. c. 3.

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itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how sew there are that deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be sound amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis suit.

(a) Attalus, king of Pergamus, died about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, tho he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving

them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme sidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she

⁽a) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. 1. 36. c. 4. Strab. 1. 13. p. 624. Plut, in Demetr. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

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had been taken very naturally. He put others alsoto death upon suspicions intirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most favage and cruel of nations, to make them the inftru-

ments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to shew himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old cloaths, let his beard grow, without taking any care of it, and did every thing which perfons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days. as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and fowed all forts of venomous, as well as wholefom herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, be fent them in that manner as presents to his friends.

He past all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was

of no long duration, for it lasted only five years. He took it into his head to practife the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off (b) in feven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was

(4) A. M. 3781 Ant. J. C. 133

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expressed in these terms, (c) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES. AS foon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, Tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour. took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, That all the ready money, which should arise from the success. on to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be fent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support them. telves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the fenate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the fenate. That tribune was killed fome fmall time afterwards.

Aristonicus, (d) however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the fon of Eumenes by a courtezan. He eafily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

As his party grew stronger every day, the (e) Romans fent the conful Crassus Mucianus against him, It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the parti-

⁽c) Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. 2. c. 20. Justin. l. 36. c. 4. & 37 9. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c 4. Strab. l. 14. p. 646. Orof. l. 5. c.8-10. Eutrop. l. 4. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 2.

⁽d) A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C 132. (r) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

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cular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Ro-. man people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, (f) having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconful, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The conful Perpenna, who had fucceeded Craffus, foon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, intirely routed his army, befieged him foon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to

the Romans.

He fent Aristonicus to (g) Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected conful, was haftening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. found Aristonicus set out; and sometime after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of difeate at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Afia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which

⁽f) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. (g) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent sollicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their foresathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, King of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left fix children. Rome, to reward in the fons the fervices of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned sive of her children, and the sixth would have had the same sate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Magara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to (h) Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shewn there as a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was stranged. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arfaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having * forged a false will of Attalus's, in

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⁽b) A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.
Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. Apud Sallust. in frazm.

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order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of ight: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more furprifing that Horace, in one of his Odes, feems to make the Roman people the fame reproach, and to infinuate, that they had attained the succession by fraud:

> (i) Neque Attali Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown, The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However there remains no trace in history of any fecret intrigue or follicitation to that effect on the fide of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

SECT. V.

Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city furrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians and perishes in it. Phraates, King of the Parthians defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physicon commits most horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is foon reduced to leave Egypt. Physicon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zelina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physicon's death.

⁽i) Hor. Od. 18. l. 2.

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SIMON having been flain (a) by treason, with two of his sons, John, another of them, sirnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, King of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with in. credible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremi. ty for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's per. fon, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhored by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own fect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion intirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deferved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, fays, that it was from the pure effect of the generofity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not intirely destroyed on this occasion.

⁽a) A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135. 1. Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 16. Drod. Eclog. 1. p. 991.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the befieged should furrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: The peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also de manded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not confent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the fum of (b) five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed. and because it could not be immediately ratified. hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going (c) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the * questor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who hould distinguish themselves in the service. By such

conduct a generous and noble foul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (d) had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain

(b) Five hundred thousand crowns.

(c) A. M. 3870. Ant. J.C. 134. Epit. Liv. 1. 57.

(*) The questor was the treasurerof the army.

⁽d) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. 1. 38. c. 9. & 10. l. 39. c. 1. Oros. 1. 5. c. 1. Valer. Max. 1. 9. c. 1. Athen. 1. p. 210. & 1. 10. p. 439. & 1. 12. p. 340. Joseph. Antiq. 1. 13. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his slight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of meer good. ness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kindgdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprifed of this design or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of fourfcore thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that thay were almost four times as many as the foldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administred to it. * Gold and filver glittered univerfally, even upon the legs of the private foldiers. The instruments and utenfils of the kitchen were filver, as if they had been marching to a feal, and not to a war.

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^{*} Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerunt, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere quasi ad epulas, non ad bella pergerent. Just.

Antiochus had great success at sirst. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the (g) winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, incluing the train before-mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not eafily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they infulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could fatisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was over-powered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners: so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any elcaped to carry the fad news of this flaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (h) relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some

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⁽g) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. (h) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 184.

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poor people, who received him in the best manner they could without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they faid, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great pass. on for hunting, made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his cour. tiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage he was known. He repeat. ed to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them, by way of reproach, Since I have to ken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concern. ing my felf till yesterday.

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates, before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army,

in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a cossin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughter amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead, (a) Hyrcanus took the abvantage of the troubles and divisions, which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his

⁽a) Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17. Strab. l. 16. p. 761. Justin. l. 36

dominions, by making himself master of many places n Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodioully for him. He laboured also at the same time to ender himself absolute and independent. He succeeded fo well in that endeavour, that from thenceorth neither himself nor any of his descendants derended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They hrew off intirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage,

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Phraates (a), flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invafion of his dominions. But, whilft he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment erough at home to remove all thoughts of inquieting thers abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Intiochus, as we have feen, he had demanded aid of hat people. When they arrived the affair was terminted, and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the fums he had engaged to my them. The Scythians immediately turned their ims against himself, to avenge themselves for the in-

office he had done them.
It was a great error in this prince to have difgusted powerful a nation by a mean and fordid avarice, de de committed a second, no less considerable, in he war itself. To strengthen himself against that naon, he fought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themelves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against in, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought poper to incorporate them into his own troops; bethat means. But when they faw themselves with rms in their hands, they were resolved to be

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⁽a) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin. l. 39. c. 1. & 42. C. 1, & 2.

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revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had fuffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilft the victory was in tuspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great stangenter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was

firnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions (a) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physicon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his fister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He foon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the places of those his sufficient to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one do by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, who the assembly there was most numerous, and put the

⁽a) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. 38. c. 8, 9. l.3 c. 1. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2, 7. Orof. l. 5. c. 10. Epit. l. 59, 60. Did in excerpt. Vales. p. 374, 376. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17.

all to the fword. The whole people ran in a fury to fet fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his fon Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately railed troops to make

war-upon the new queen and her adherents.

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But first, apprehending (a) that the Alexandrians would make his fon king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as foon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falfely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed, that Cleopatra whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a cheft, with the head intire, that it might be known, and fent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth day of that princels, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great maginfecence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the is first midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The resolution cannot be expressed, which the view of that people ad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrune da of a crime. The abominable pretent was exwho soled to the view of the public, with whom it the had the same effect as with the court, who had first

⁽a) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

feen that fad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of

the country.

Ptolemy Physicon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and fent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Mariyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physicon; it was expected that fo bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and fet him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the lofs of her army, which was almost intirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldelt daughter by Philometor, and promifed him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius without hesitation accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid fiege to Pelufium.

That prince was no lefs hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleo-

patra queen of Syria.

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This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had re-possessed himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

Physcon, (a) as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For after the defeat of Mariyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was no body in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he fet up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the fon of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himfelf out for the fon of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him into possession of it. He was no fooner in Syria, than without examining the justice of his pretentions the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Cœlo-Syria. Dimetrius was intirely deseated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wise Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age, of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish them-

⁽a) A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127.

felves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to sly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest, and to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages which rendered the Jews sormidable to their enemies.

He had fent the preceeding year an (a) embally to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The fenate received those ambassadors very gracioally, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken feveral cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and forme other places of which he had made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by belieging the city of Jerusalem; upon what the ambassadors represented to the fenate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and refolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenour of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the fenate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the term tories of the Jews.

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⁽a) Joseph. Antiq. 1. 13. c. 17.

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At the time we speak of (a), incredible swarms of grashoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and asterwards being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and insected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Afri-

ca, more than eight hundred thousand souls.

We have faid, that Cleopatra (b) had possessed herfelf of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two fons by that princess, the eldest of which, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of afcending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her fons intention to effablish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might defire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman, and a mother, could be capable of committing fo horrid and excessive a crime: but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he sound means to re-

⁽a) A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Epit. Liv. l. 60. Orof l. 5. c. 11. (b) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit l. 60. Justin. l. 9. c. 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

concile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with most uncommon elemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all that approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was affaffinated by his own fervants. His fon, who fucceeded him, was the famous Mathridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history

a leparate article.

Cleopatra, (a) after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority the intended to retain intirely to herfelf. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that thould fet up for it. She therefore caused her other son Antiochus to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as foon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To diftinguish him from the other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the sirname of * Grypus, taken from his great note. Josephus calls him Philometor; but that prince in his medals took the title of Epiphanes.

(a) A: M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 123.

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Pouros, in Greek, fignifies a man with an aquiline nose.

Zebina (a) having well established himself after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of a part of the Syrian empire, Physcon who looked upon him as his creature, infifted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had fet him up, and having accommodated all differences with his nice Cleopatra, fent a confiderable army to the affistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a defign of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and

put to death.

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After the defeat and death of Zebina (b), Antiochus Grypus believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who faw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herfelf absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as he had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her fons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, the was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in t during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poiloned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from ome exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself, and upon her obstinate refusal lo do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her

⁽a) A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122. (b) A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

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to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herfelf without evafion or refource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been fo long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of * three kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had oc. casioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poi. fon he made her drink herself. That prince after. wards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned feveral years in peace and tranquillity; till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occas. · oned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physicon, king of Egypt (a), after having reigned twenty-nine-years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more

with crimes than his.

SECT. VI.

Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physicon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judea His death. Aristobolus succeeds him, and assume the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander for næus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander his youngest brother on the throw in his stead. War between that princess and her some Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom

Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

^{*} The three Kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Aldrander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four some were Antiochus, by Aléxander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Gryps, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

(a) A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Porphyr. in Græc. Ented

of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chufe Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.

DHYSCON (a) at his death left three fons. The I first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legittimate, and the children of his nice Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two fons she should think fit to chuse. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaifant, resolved to chuse him; but the people would not fuffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recal him from Cyprus, whither the had caused him to be banished by his father, and to affociate him with her on the throne. Before she would fuffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he paffionately loved, and to take Selena his younger fifter, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of

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⁽a) A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. 39. c. 4, 5. Appian. Mithrid. sub finem, & in Syr. p. 132. Starb. l. 17. p. 795. Plin. l. 2. c. 67. & l. 6. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

^{*} Δαθυρος signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin cicer, from which tame the sirname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistant.

nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Gripus (a), king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's fide. He was the fon of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilft De. metrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his do. minions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mo. ther, out of regard to his fafety, had fent him to Cy. zicum, a city situate upon the Propontis in Mysia minor, where he was educated by the care of a faith. ful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had in. trusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbarge, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretentions to the crown of Syria.

Cleopatra, (b) whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an * army for her dowry, to affist him against his competitor. Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the missortune to be defeated retired to Antioch. He lest his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforce.

ment of his army.

But Grypus immediatey laid fiege to the city, and took it. Triphena his wife was very earnest with

(a) A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114. (b) A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113. th

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^{*} We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words; the ercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit; which shews that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read Cypri instead of Grypi, which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Tho' her fifter by father and mother, she was fo excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a fanctuary, which was held inviolable. Grypus would not have a complaifance for his wife, which he faw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the fanctity of the afylum, where her fifter had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither he of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his aneffors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations. That Cleopatra was her fifter, and his near + relation. That therefore he defired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any feverities *. Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealoufy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compassion but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner; the therefore fent foldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner form the alter, than by cutting off her hands, with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose fight fo barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

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However the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two fifters, did not feem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was folely susceptible of

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ambition,

[†] Her father Physicon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother. Sed quanto Grypus abnuit, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accentiur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

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ambition, was fo taken up with the defire of reign. ing, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life, To strengthen herself the better, the gave the king. dom to Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the affistance she might have occass. on for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the autho. rity the was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long re. main unpunished (a). The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a fe. cond time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her

fifter had well deferved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occafioned his being fometimes called in history the Afpendian (b), but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia, and took up his refidence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and

many other excelles.

Whilst the two brothers (c) were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious floth and eafe, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and feeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He fent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his fons, to form the fiege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzice. nian, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quited their lines, and a battle enfued, wherein Antiochus was

⁽a) A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112.

⁽b) A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111. (c) A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 17, 19. defeated,

defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping

with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory (a) returned to the fiege, and prefied the city to vigoroufly, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to follicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the railing of the fiege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the fame head, who granted fix thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who intirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation; and out of regard for them the would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her confent, and even a-

gainst her will.

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When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the fiege, and contented himself, with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raife the fiege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing, that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, defertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his perfon by continuing in the field with an army fo much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash .. enterprize, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, feeing no hopes of success, had no .: farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in; the best manner he could in the present situation of

⁽a) A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

Book XIX.

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affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relies, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were intirely razed and laid level with the ground; and to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut thro' the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod who gave the new city he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus (a) saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in persect tranquillity with regard to

foreign affairs.

But towards (b) the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of dissoluties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured by all sorts of savours to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before, he had in-

⁽a) Dissor, in Greek fignifies Augustus.

wited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharises: That he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole affembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and feditious spirit, role up, and poke to him to this effect: "Since you defire, that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourfelf just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourfelf with the civil government." Hyrcanus was furprized, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Elezar replied, that it was known from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother as a captive, and that as the fon of a stranger, he as incapable by the law of holding that office. If he fact had been true, Eleazar (a) would have had ason; for the law was express in that point: but it as a false supposition, and a meer calumny; and all at were present extremely blamed him for advanng it, and expressed great indignation upon that acbunt.

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This adventure however occasioned great troubles. In yrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt defame his mother, and call in question the purity

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of his birth, and in consequence his right to the highpriesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful fects in Judæa, but directly opo. fite to each other in fentiments and interests, intirely divided the state; that of the Pharifees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more flrictly adhered, than to the law itself, tho? often contrary to each other. They acknow. ledged the immortality of the foul, and in confequence another life after this. They affected an outfide of virtue, regularity, and aufterity, which acquired them great confideration with the people. But under that impositious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: fordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent defire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconciled able hatred for all who prefumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horid excelfes; and what was fill their more difting uithing characteristic, and out-did all the rest, a black hypocrify, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducces rejected the Pharifaical, traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the foul, and the refurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanha drim, that is to fay, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of flate and religion were determined, were of the later fect.

Jonathan therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, infinuated to him, that what had palled was not the meer fuggestion of Eleazar, but a trick

concerted

concerted by the whole cabal of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to confult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deferved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deferved, was to be scourged, and imprisoned. So much lenity in so hainous a case made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had infinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole fect of the Pharifees. He prohibited by decree the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon fuch as disobeyed that ordinance: and abandoned their party intirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus (a) did not long survive this storm: he died the year following, after having been high-priest

and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I hall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat

the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (b) had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her oppostion. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons (c), and obliged him to

(b) Justin. l. 38. c. 4.

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⁽a) A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107.

⁽c) Those two sons died before him.

Book XIX.

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quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have fome of his favourite ennuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She can. fed it to be reported, that he had used them so barba outly for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people fo much by this blak fiction, which convinced them that he defired to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as foon as he got on board. Cleopatra fent foon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, (a) king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine, Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and re-

folved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his general, to form the fiege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be diffarissied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of

⁽a) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph Antiq. xiii. 20, 21.

Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable numer of troops. A bloody battle was fought between hem upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost hirty thousand men, without including the prisoners

aken by Lathyrus after the victory.

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A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathy. us upon this occasion. The same evening he gained his battle, in going to take up his quarters in the eighbouring villages, he found them full of women nd children, and caused them all to be put to the word, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put inocauldrons in order to their being dressed, as if he ntended to make his army sup upon them. His design tas to have it believed, that his troops ate human flesh, o spread the greater terror throughout the country. build one believe fuch a barbarity possible, or that ny man should ever conceive so wild a thought? lophus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo. nd another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having by enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the e flat country. Without the fuccours brought by leopatra the following year, Alexander had been ndone. For after so considerable a loss it was imposble for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head a-

inst his enemy.

That (a) princes faw plainly, that if Lathyrus ade himself master of Judæa and Phænicia, he ould be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to derone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to s progress. For that purpose she raised an army, d gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, e two Jews, of whom we have spoken before. She ted out a fleet at the same time to transport her pops; and embarking with them herself, landed in menicia (b). She carried with her a great fum of oney, and her richest jewels. For their security, in

(a) A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.

⁽b) Appian, in Mithridat. p. 186. Et de bel. civil. p. 414.

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case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their reposition, and sent thither at the same time her grands on Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall

fee in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired in Cœlo-Syria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to purfue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the fiege of Ptolemais herfelf. Chelcias who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence, in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. The troops (a) Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phænicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however pushed the siege of Ptolemais with fo much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

(a) A. M. 3902, Ant. J. C. 102.

Some persons of 'Cleopatra's court observed to her, that the had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by feizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of fociety; that fuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews difperfed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wife minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length let another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the fiege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus (a), after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She on her side retired also into Egypt, and the country

was delivered from them both.

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Being (b) informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that, with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus,

(b) Justin. 1. 39. c. 4.

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⁽a) A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

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to Antiochus Grypus, and fent him at the same time a confiderable number of troops, and great fums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair fucceeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had fo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to affift Lathyrus, who was there.

by obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which flie pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and ob. ferving besides, that the greatest crimes cost her no. thing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself fale near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear, in banishment, to reigning with fo wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not with out abundant sollicitation he was prevailed uponto return; for the people could not refolve that the should reign alone, tho' they well knew that she gave her fon only the name of king; that from the death of Physicon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's dil grace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her

The death of Antiochus Grypus (a) happened this year. He was affaffinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty seven years He left five fons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him The four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionysus. The were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to

the crown.

⁽a) A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

Ptolemy Apion (a), fon of Physcon king of Egypt, o whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without iffue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who instead of taking advantage of hat legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which foon illed the whole country with tyrants; because the nost powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. cullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian feized Antioch (b), after he death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours o disposses Grypus's children of the rest of the kinglom. But Selevicus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him,

and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia (c) who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and fet upon the throne, on condition that he should refign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates king of the Romans. I shall have occaion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the tingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenian (d), who faw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was nade prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole

(b) Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

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(c) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. 38. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. 11. p. 532.

⁽a) A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Epit. Liv. l. 70. Plut. in Lucui. . 492. Justin. L 39. c. 5.

⁽d) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, who made his
escape from Antioch, when Selencus took it, went
to Aradus *, where he caused himself to be crowned
king. From thence he marched with a considerable
army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory (a)
over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mop.
suestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest
to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he op.
pressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of
gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mui.
nied, invested the house where he resided, and set it
on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in
the slames.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin (b) sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise a gainst Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But, on their return, Eusebes charged them near the 0 rontes, and deseated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth son of

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An Island and city of Phænicia.

⁽a) A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93. (b) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

in king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too such employed against each other to prevent that low. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his afairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Phip however till supported himself, and at last so totally deseated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was resuced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was dithridates II. strnamed the Great. The empire of dyria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, eturned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new dissoluties. Another competitor sell also upon his hands almost at the same time: this was Antiochus Diopysius, his brother, the sisth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs (a) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the surface. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myself, is fruck with horror at the fight of so dreadful a scene

⁽a) A. M. 2015. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin. l. 39. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. 12. p. 550.

as our bistory has for some time exhibited. It furnish. es us no where with such frequent and sudden revo. lutions, nor with examples of fo many kings dethro. ned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, fons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated defign, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious, and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more diftinguished, or more dreadful, than upon these princes and people We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden he. come monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a fituation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolib. ed, all crimes fecure of impunity, denotes approach! ing ruin, and feems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As foon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished foon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians (a), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the lovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calami-

ties, 1 at laft prince those of the king (But th the R my of ing T to acq they I Syria, wore fourte dates,

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⁽a) A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. 40 c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 112. Jos. Antiq. l. 13. C. 24.

ties, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquility of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and fent ambaffadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy, named Megadates, whom he did not recal from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Citicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what betame of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wise of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phænicia and Cælo-Syria, and (a) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Selencus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in

the sequel.

Sometime (b) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a confiderable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was

⁽a) Cic. în Ver. n. 61. Appian, in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. 17. p. 196. (b) Pausan, in Attic. p. 15.

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at length taken, after a fiege of three years. Lathy, rus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was al.

most reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the (a) ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his sather, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but, by the established custom of that house, all the sons were cal-

led Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla (b), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, fent Alexander to take possession of the crown of E. gypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir-male of the defunct. He was the fon of that Alexander who had put his mother to death, But the people of Alexandria had already fet Cleopatra upon the throne, and the had been fix months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. commodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla the master of Rome, and in consequence dispencer of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve her for 1 wife, or would have no affociate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in thole times, and might be faid to have grown into fashion among princes and princesles.

died, having first made the Roman people his heirs

(a) A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

⁽b) Appian, de bell civ. p. 414 Porphyr in Græc. Scal. p. 60.
(c) A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian in Muhridat p. 218.
de bell civil. l. 1. p. 420. Epit. Liv. l. 70, & 93. Flut. in Lucul p.
492.

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His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica also did the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had passed since, during which term, sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII.

Selena, fifter of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt, the fends two of her fons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return, goes to Sicily. Verres, prator of that island, takes from him a golden sconce, designed for the capitol. Antiochus, sirnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Juda and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander at his death makes the Roman people his beirs. In confequence, some years after, they order Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his fortunes, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commifsion.

SOME (a) * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made

⁽a) A. M. 3031. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. 6. in Ver. Orat. n. 61. 67. Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper suisse: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine contreversa

made Selena the fifter of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She fent her two fone, Antiochus Afiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to sollicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and inessented al sollicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge

of the whole world.

Verres + was at that time prætor in Sicily. As foon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things

versia obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se & Selenam matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium prosessi sunt.

. * Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste & audierat multa secum præclara habere, & suspicabatur Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omnibus curat rebus instructum & paratum ut sit convivum. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut & issum copiose ornatum, & se honorisice acceptum arbitraretur.

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with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by fending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The teast was sumptuous and delicate; for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had made him.

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not sew cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand, one after the other, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well placed with his antentainment.

is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to riffle Antiochus, and send him away seeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. The prince, who

Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi. — Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum & gratum illud esse convivium. † Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilarumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui stum non nosset, sine ulla suspicione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam rullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the great vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider them more ex. actly, as he faid. The king fent him that also.

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But to crown all: * The kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch-sconce with them to Rome, of fingular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marins and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor fuffer any body to have a fight of it; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprize might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendor to the present. therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, refolving to fend amballadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres + was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the

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* Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite-Candelabrum è gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent : quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgo ostendere ac professe voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, & clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id fecum in Syriam réportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

† Pervenit res ad istins aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat : non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud antè perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Me pe-tit a rege, & cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat : cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili esset & regio, nihil de istius improbiate ful icatus

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fconce concealed; not that he feared or suspected amy thing, but that few people might fee it before exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to fend it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let no body else see it. The young prince, with the candour and fimplicity of whose youth the noble fentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from fight; which was done accordingly. As foon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a prefent worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art feemed to vye with the materials; and at the fame time of fo large a fize, that it was eafy to diftinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to confider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leifure, and that his curiofity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis & plurimis gemmis esse debebat; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatum, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sie illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

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The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no fin. spicion: one day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince there. fore fent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? that very sconce which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the capitol, and defigned for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to confecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was defigned, would pass upon fuch an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The † king upon that withdrew to the public place, and with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud

voice,

Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini & hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari accerime cœpit. Ubi vidit eum nihilo magis minis q am precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

† Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in soro, stens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum è gemmis, quod in capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rommonumentum suæ societatis amicitiæque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ

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voice, in a numerous affembly of the Syracufians, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other veffels of gold and jewels which Verres had from him; but that to fee that sconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconfolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that sconce was already confecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to wit: ess to the sentiments of his heart and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Afiaticus, being returned into Afia, foonafter afcended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey (a) deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the

Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province a king had been fo grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence. And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by

sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse & indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente & cogitatione sua fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem sua voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

(a) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 65.

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Rome into the provinces; a crime which the fenate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We * have feen for feveral years," fays the same Cicero, in another of his orations a. gainst Verres, " and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the " hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, " Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine all Afia, "Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed in some " of the country-houses of those rich and unjust men " of rapine, whilft money is univerfally a prodigious ra-" rity every where elfe. And we have just reason to " believe, that ourselves connive in all these crying " and terrible disorders; as those who commit, take " no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their "thefts and depredations from the eyes and know-" ledge of the public."

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and feditions, occafioned by the powerful faction of the Pharifees, that

^{*} Patimur multos jam annos & filemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum distinulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur.— Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam totam, denique Asiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis vilis inclusas esse videatis. Cic. in. Ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

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continually opposed him, because he was not of a dispolition to fuffer himself to be rid by them. His death (a) did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharifees continually perfifted in perfecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her fole heir, but Aristobulus his younger brother had the

strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing (b) but troubles and violent agitations were to be feen on all fides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate fon. He was firnamed Auletes, that is to fay the player upon the flute, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there fome time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had fustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into

(b) A M. 3939. Ant J. C. 65. Sucton. in Jul. Caf. c. Trogus in Proi. 39. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

⁽a) A. M. 2925. Ant J. C. 79. Joseph. Antiquit. xiii. 23, 24. & de bell Judaic. 1, 4 & A. M. 2934. Ant. J. C. 70.

consideration by the senate. Some (a) were of opi. nion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator nad been fovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the fe. nators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bythinia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed hefides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrais them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficient ly implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the fequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very fingular custom, and almost unheard of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state are war, victory, conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific

(a) Cicer. Orat. 2. in Rullum. n. 41, 3.

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they the] lawfu and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the

There is another fort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: When to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, less the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more sollicitous either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bythynia, or Ptole-

my Alexander king of Egypt.

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What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splender to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: And next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon

as fuch. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the fituation of which we speak, had but three things to chuse; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their intire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom

to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and sury: And the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them mis-

fortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the fecond choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependance upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wifely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of desending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of

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under affüre Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble difinterestedness, having resused the gift the king had made
them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up
to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, surious to madness against each other, and in
a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the
midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many
years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy
of which was to pray, and in some manner to sorce,
the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of

it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or latter. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced by reiterated defeats to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy

upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying intire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniencies and missortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniencies, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages, occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrans

in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their

own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans intirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorise the most slagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: But there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for

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the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the

affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius (a), who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused. Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be defired in his name to fend him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, fent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take fo small an one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as foon as possible. He had found means to ret himself elected tribune of the people; an imporant office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by he will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus which depended on it, ppertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation: nd Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the peole to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptoemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so un-If an order in execution, he had credit and address mough to have the justest of all the Romans elected; mean Cato, whom he * removed from the repuic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, hat he might not find him an obstacle to the violent nd criminal designs he meditated. Cato was there re sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's

(a) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab 1 4. p. 684.

P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is - mitteretur in insulam prum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitiis n contumeliam meritum, Vell. Paterc. 1. 2. c. 45. vices.

vices sufficiently authorised the seizing of all his for-

Cato (a), upon his arrival at Rhodes, fent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were fufficiently confiderable for his honourable fub. fistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. not however in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not refolve, as. ter having worn a crown fo long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his trea. fures, and put to fea. His defign was to have holes borred in the bottom of his ship, that it might fink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, tho' he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * shewed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by title, king of Cyprus, but in fact, the mean flave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold and his magazines; after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was fo large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Platarch makes it amount to almost feven thousand talents, (one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be fold publicly; referving only to himfelt a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the fentiments of which fect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and shew themselves not such as they had been in the glo-

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⁽a) Plut. in Cato p. 776.

^{*} Proculdubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessius estitulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium.

rious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and filver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of difgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. † " The Roman " people, fays Cicero, instead of making it their ho-" nour and almost a duty, as formerly, to re-establish " the kings their enemies, whom they had conquered, " upon there thrones, now fee a king, their ally, " or at least a constant friend to the republic, who " had never done them any wrong, of whom neither "the fenate nor any of our generals had ever the " least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left " him by his ancesters in tranquillity, plundered on a " fudden without any formality, and all his effects " fold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of " the same Roman people. This, continues Cicero, " shews other kings, upon what they are to rely for "their fecurity; from this fatal example they learn "that amongst us, there needs only the secret in-" trigue of fome feditious tribune, for depriving them " of their thrones, and plundering them, at the fame " time, of all their fortunes."

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and services in so no-

† Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio per-fruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura & sceptro & illis insignibus regiis, praconi publico subjiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, suit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est & videns, cum victu & vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perdito exemplo ideant. per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) & regno omni nudari. Cic. orat. pro Sextio.

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torious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shews however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I referve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits a particular

attention.

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Sect. I.

BOOK XX.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the history of the Jews, from Aristolulus, fon of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of Herod the great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of what it was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more sully informed in it. Dean Prideaux whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECT. I.

Reign of Aristobulus I. which lasted two years.

HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews.

(a), had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alex-

(a) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. 1d. de bel. Jud. 1. 3.

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ander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The

fith was called Abialom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As foon as he faw himfelf well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa from the Babylonish cap. tivity, had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed savourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little fecure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the difmembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an affured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some fmall time after, upon a falle accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a prison during

his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed (a), he entered into a war with the Ituræans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be

⁽a) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id de bel. Jud. 1. 3. CII'4

circumcifed and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and feek a fettlement elsewhere. They choic to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incoporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Afmoneans. It shews, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which onght not to be received but voluntarily and by perfuafion. Ituræa, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Cœlo-Syria, on the north-east frontier of Ifrael, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the ter-

ritory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the Army to his brother Antigonus, to make end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus foon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, compleatly armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, fent him orders to disarm himself and come to him as foon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king defired to fee him compleatly armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who faw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

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Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a misserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECT. II.

Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty. Seven years.

Salome, the wife of Aristobulus (a), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prifon, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannaus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As tor the third, named Abfalom, who was of a peace. able disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person (b), he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole No more is faid of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he ferved him against the Romans at the fiege of Jerufalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, altho' they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngest of her sons reigned in Egypt,

and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldeft in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten

(a) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii 20. ld de bel. Jud. 1. 3. (b) ld. Antiq. xiv. 8.

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months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the hame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to fee, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharifees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so frongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this fource.

This lofs, great as it was (a), did not prevent his going to feize Raphia and Anthédon, when he faw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops which had contributed to his gaining the satal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to

avenge himfelf upon them.

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As foon as his affairs would permit (b), he came with a numerous army to befiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassing the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as him-

⁽a) A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100. (b) A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

felf, and furrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance it was thought, by his behaviour and the or. ders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with elemency and moderation. But as foon as he faw himself master of all the posts, and that there was no. thing to oppose him, he gave his foldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defend. ed themselves like men in despair, and killed him al. most as many of his people, as they were themselves. But at length he satisfied his brutal revenge, and reduced that antient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most hainous manner (a). At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn facrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of Slave; a reproach, which sufficient. ly argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had prefumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to fuch a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of fix thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of fix thousand men, that attended him every where.

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⁽a) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

When Alexander faw the florm which had rose against him (a) a little appealed by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained fome advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews (b), incented at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him to much weakened and dejected by his lofs, that they should find no difficulty in compleating his defraction, which they had fo long defired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued fix years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up (c), carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their saces. During this cruel execution, the King regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than sifty thousand

men on the fide of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great fuccess. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that

(c) A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

⁽a) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. (b) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

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brought a quartan ague upon him (a), of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty feven.

He left two fons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should go. vern the kingdom during her life, and chuse which of her sons she thought sit to succeed her.

SECT. III.

Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Januaus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.

According to the advice of her husband (l), Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, tho' they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence, than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed fovereign administratrix of the nation. We fee from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharifees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, never are fo W

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⁽a) A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. (b) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23. 24. & do bell. Jud. 1. 4.

and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who

are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as highpriest: he was then near thirty years of age. cording to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharifees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abofished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceeding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by put. ting herfelf into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have faid upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who

governed it.

The Pharisees always continued (a) their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

⁽a) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii, 24. & de bell. Jud. r. 4.

The friends and partifans of the late king, feeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was fworn, affembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second ion, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attach. ment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles, That it was very hard at present, under her govern. ment, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to fee themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, folely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such fort of inquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their feeking an afylom elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrifoned places, where they might find fome fecurity against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she defired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharifees. How dangerous is it to in vest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the court of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable that fuch a proceeding was what no government ough to fuffer; and that therefore they never would come in to it. On the other fide, the queen believed, that he ought not to give her confent, that the real and faith ful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had pro poled to her, and dispersed them into the places where the had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct;

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conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she

could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after queen Alexandra fell fick of a very dangerous distemper (a), which brought her to the point of death. As foon as Aristobulus, her youngest fon, faw that the could not recover, as he had long formed the defign of feizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which according to a plan he had given of them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the flate. The people as well as the army were intirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all fides to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharifees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: Besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such assairs, and that she left the care

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⁽a) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

of them to the Pharisees. However she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As foon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had lest behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to sly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV.

Reign of Aristobulus. II. which continued fix years.

It was agreed by the accommodation (a), that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priest-hood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quieted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appealed, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, game birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from

(a) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

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the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown (a). But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to re-

place Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his fecret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to re-instate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates was arrived in Syria (b). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Ariflobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who without any other title, administred justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their fore-fathers: That the two brothers were indeed of the facerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land.

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⁽a) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65, Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2-8. & de bell. Jud. 1.-5. (b) Id. xiv. 5. Id. de. bell. Jud. 1-5.

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And, to confirm what he alledged against him, he pro. duced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to

fay against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his floth and indolence rendered bim intirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him, and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendor and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of refentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass thro' Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the ne-

ceffary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's fertiments, fet out suddenly from Damascus without pay ing him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mor tal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparation for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despite the Roman arms; but when he faw them at his door and that victorious army ready to enter his dominion

he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey however advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard; but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the

victor, who foon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Jidæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey fent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did fo, and after a conversation which. turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But. for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrilons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of fequestration, and made him fign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as foon as he was released; made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of spile complacency to incline him to it. When on the contrary he had the least reason to suspest, that he

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would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place, where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho: there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as

we shall fee in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endea. voured to bring him to an accomodation, by promifing an intire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and fent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates thut against him, and instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its fituation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they faw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and canfed the bridges of the ditch and valley which furrounded it, to be be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, refolved to befrege the temple. The place held out three months intire, and would have done to three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon

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don their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the belieged observed the Sabbath. They believed indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the Sabbath days. They did not attack the fews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which fo great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an affault. The place was carried fword in hand, and a terrible flaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this flaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine fervice, continued it with a furprizing unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to fee their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them faw their own blood mingle with that of the facrifices they offered, and the Iword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only inco the fanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the folemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the

Romans.

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Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that confifted principally in fums which had been depolited there by private families for their better fecumy. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents

^{*} Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value.

* It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterested ness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrile-gious curiosity, his good-fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last

victory.

SECT. V.

Reign of Hyrcamus II. which continued twenty-four years.

Pom PEY having put an end to the war (a), caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and

(a) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

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^{*} Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo sano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. None nim credo religionem & sudzorum & hossium impedimento prastantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem suisse—istorum teligio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorem institutis abhorse bat. Cic pro Flacco n. 67—69.

left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he after-

wards excited new troubles.

Hyrcanus (a) finding himself too weak to take the seeld against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood the made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

Crassus (b) upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about fifteen hundred

thousand pounds sterling.

Cæsar (c), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his seet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead; and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed, that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity

⁽a) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

[†] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. 1. 6.

⁽b) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C 54.

⁽c) A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de belt. Jud. 1. 8.

after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient foot

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Antipater caused the (a) government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasael his eldest son, and that of Galilee

to herod his second son.

Cæsar (b), at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by

violent troubles.

Pacorus, (c) fon of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he fent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the fon of aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasael, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. For Hyrcanus his life was granted him, but to render him incapable of the

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1. 8.

prieft.

⁽b) A. M. 3,60. Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. (c) A. M. 3,961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. 26. ld. de bell. Jud. 1. 11.

priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off. For according to the Levitical law (a), it was requifite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. (b) He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him intire liberty to fee and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with iplendor. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death fome years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for * Aristobulus, whose fister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himfelf, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the confuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

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⁽a) Lev xxi. 15.—24. (b) Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judwa. He employed no more time than three months in his journies by sea and land.

SECT. VI.

Reign of Antigonus of only two years duration.

IT was not so easy for Herod (a) to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod, (b) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the fiege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the

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⁽a) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. (b) A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 13.

Sect. 6.

lews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for confummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least fixty thousand men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding refolution, and if the befreged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a fiege of fomething more than fix months.

The Jews (a) being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all fides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had fuffered during to long and difficult a fiege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, tho' Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus feeing all loft, came and threw himfelf at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and fent to Anthony, as foon as he arrived at Antioch. He defigned at first to have referved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large fum of money (b). He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the fentence executed upon

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⁽a) A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37. (b) Joseph. Antiq. ibid. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. 1. 49. P. 405.

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him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was sastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable pos-

fession of the kingdom of Judæa.

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This fingular, extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the fovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophefy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and diffinguished them by a peculiar characteriaftic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing, or being apprized of it. This was the prophely of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve fons affembled round his bed, what would happen in the feries of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: The (a) sceptar Mall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from he tween his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. The scepter or rod (for the Hebrew fignifies both) implies here the authority and fuperiority over the other tribes.

All the antient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontelle able, and is reduced to two essential points. The sis, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, is shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other

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tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magifrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may confult the explanation of Genefis

lately published *

For the fecond point, we have only to confider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumæan, and in confequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the fu-premacy, it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? in the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Meifiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophefies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the fovereignty for himfelf, but for another. It was the groffest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pals away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events

^{*} By F. Babuty Rué St. Jaques.

were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Al. mighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most power-I ful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threefcore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty four were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after Arfaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his fuccessors were called Arfacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the fon of Mammæus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave (a) Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, sirnamed Theos.

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⁽a) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. Vol. VII.

Sect. 6.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus (a), who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arfaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, sirnamed the great (b), was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of an hundred thou and soot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arlaces, by which he lest him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus (c) marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRIAPATIUS, the form of Arfaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son.

Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES (d), whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther then Alexander the great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

PHRAATES II. (e) succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had

⁽a) A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. Vol. VII.

⁽b) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Vol. VIII.

* The Abbe Longuezue, in his Latin differtation upon the Arfaeides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaeces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of them.

⁽c) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. (d) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

⁽e) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown, and killed in the last, and his army intirely cut in pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the defign of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

ARTABANUS (a) his uncle reigned in his stead, and

died foon after.

His fuccessor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Juftin fays, that his great actions acquired him the firname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to fend him his fon Tigranes as an hostage. The latter (b) was afterwards fet upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

Antiochus Eusebes (c) took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the

kingdom of Syria two years after.

It was the same Mithridates (d), as we shall see hereafter, who fent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given

place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus (e), who reigned at Damascus, befieging Philip his brother in the city of Bærea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops fent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. there of difeafe.

Mithridates II. died (f), after having reigned forty

(a) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

(b) A. M. 3909. Justin. l. 18. c. 3. (c) A. M. 3992 Ibid. p. 115.

(d) A. M. 3914. Ant J. C 90. (e) A. M. 1915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

(f) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. 11, p. 532. Plut.in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

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years, generally regreted by his subjects. The domestic troubles, with which his death was sollowed, and considerably weakened the Parthian empire, made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phænicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNAS-KIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their

names.

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PHRHAATES (a), the fon of the latter, was he, who

caused himself to be sirnamed THE GOD.

He fent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust has preserved.

Pompey (b) having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates,

engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his fa-

ther, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's (c) return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same

time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates (d), expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to reestablish him upon the throne; but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Ba-

(d) Justin. 1. 42, c. 4.

⁽a) A. M. 3935. Ant J. C 69. (b) A. M 3938. Ant J. C 66.

⁽c) A. M. 3948 Ant J. C. 56.

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bylon (a), and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad (b), that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created conful at Rome with Pompey for the fecond time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it savoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and feemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploints of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already over-ran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his defign against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no fuccels.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their

(a) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. (b) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552. 554. friends 0

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friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city thro' which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of sire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw persumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the missortunes of Crassus have been regarded

by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could ftop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundusium, and tho' the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived in Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, tho' of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect, King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the * twelfth hour of the day. And you, Lord Crassus, replied Dejotarus, are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthiaus. For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed, (a) that there were confiderable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minge, each of which weighed two pound and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of

(a) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

^{*} The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

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Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it way, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of his treasures his plunder, which amounted to about sisteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the infatiable defire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and feveral treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprize to give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invalion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran, without opposition, the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no refistance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been early for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctellphon, to have feized them, and made himfel master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Melopo tamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the begin ning of autumn, after having left feven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had furrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates and put his troops into winter quarters in the cited of Syria, where his fole employment was to amai money, and to plunder temples. He

He was joined there by his fon, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Or all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always atenmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilft he was re-affembling all his troops from their winter quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was fent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to fatiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their mafter was well difposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather that up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings fafe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. 1 Craffus answered this difcourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia. Upon which the most antient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; Crassus, you will sooner see bair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia. The ambafambassadors retired, and went to give their king no. tice, that he must prepare for war.

As foon as the feafon would permit (a), Craffus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia un. der the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook feveral of the places Crassus had

made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had feen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they befreged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they purfued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to de fend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had fo eafily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would confift in the length of the way, and the purfuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now faw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to

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⁽a) A. M. 3951. Ant J. C. 53. Plut, in Craff. p. 554.

experience great battles and great dangers. This difcouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and

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What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of fix thousand horse, which were part of his guards; adding, that besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army confisted, would be rendered intirely useless to them: that if they took this rout, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great differes for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: but Crassius, blinded by providence, which intended to punish the facrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only defired Artabasus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as foon as possible. Vol. IX. T

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I have said, that providence blinded Crassus, which is self evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writter makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that the Romans under Crassus had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and pursued by fome divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds. That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed foldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, that is to fay, one of the finest armies the Romans ever fet on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the foldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were feized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the fense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

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He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have

fled suddenly as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his foldiers began to despise the Parthians, asmenthat would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or if Crasfus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to furround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provifions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæfar.

Craffus, after having confidered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly ferved under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman foldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him intirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops, and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a compleat victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest

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way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave intirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to no body. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult from the deep fands, in which the army found itself engaged in the midst of a vast country all bare, and of a frightful dryness, where the eye could discover neither end or boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as an hill, nor a fingle blade of grafs: nothing was to be feen

all around but heaps of burning fand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Craffus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to support, prevented him from fending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy: That, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and fuch places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against them that gave them; and without vouchfafing to write an answer to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at present to consider the affair

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" of Armenia: I shall go thither soon, and shall then

" punish Artabasus for his treachery."

Crassus was so full of his Arab, and so blinded by his artful fuggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the fandy defert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a defert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the fcouts came in full fpeed to inform Craffus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the: more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to furround him; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and: drawing up his foot in close order, he made them? from a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve * cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally fustained by the cavalry," the whole body might charge with greater fecurity. and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his young fon Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the foldiers, from the exceed-

ing drought and excessive heat.

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The Roman cohort was a body of infanty confifting of five or fix hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and dif. position were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his fon, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not flowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themfelves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other, the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon, and effects it the most immedi-

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ately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner

change its nature.

The trouble and difmay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mein feemed to promise. For he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Sythians, much neglected, and fuch as nature gave them, in order to appear the more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of that hollow square, so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming consusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much associated to see their whole army surrounded on all sides Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

The diforder and difmay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, tho' they

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had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians sled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; for in slying they saved their lives, and in sighting avoided the infamy of slight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, their were camels laden with arrows, whither those, who had exhausted their quivers, wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was intirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to

take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, sive hundred archers, and (a) eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or

⁽a) They confifted of near fix thousand men,

rather defigned to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, they don't stand us, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They sirmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who had seemed to sly, saced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to

charge the Romans.

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Young Craffus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon feeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with oppofing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and fent out detachments of their light-horse, that wheeling about, and furrounding them on all fides without joining them; poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of fand, they raifed fo thick a dust, that the Romans could neither fee nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by flow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they fuffered, they rolled themselves upon the fands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and encreased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the

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heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground; fo that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themfelves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himfelf boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great difadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong fpears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, feized them by the neck, and threw them of their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which runing precipitately upon that heavy-armed body killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and we carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they faw, at a finall distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They sastened their horses in the centre, and made an inclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment; in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending them.

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felves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians howered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy definy, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had spoused the party of the Romans, and was not very temote. But he replied, That the fear of no death, owever cruel, could induce him to abandon fo many brave nen, who died out of love for him. A noble sentiment or a young Lord! He ordered them to make off as aft as they could, and embracing them, difmilled them be service. For himself, not being able to make use f his hand, which was shot thro' with an arrow, he ommanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword ro' him, and prefented his fide to him. The princial officers killed themselves, and many of those that offer, mained were slain, sighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners, were ad after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched

dan. The latter, after having ordered his fon to charge e Parthians, and received advice, that they were it to the rout, and purfued vigoroufly, had refumed me courage, and the more, because those who opafed him, seemed to abate considerably of their arour; for the greatest part of them were gone with

the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from

the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, fent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him, that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassis was struck with such a diversity of assistance, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

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The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his missortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what samily and relations that young Roman was: For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so

base and cowardly a father as Crassius.

This fight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the defire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassis, however, shewed more constancy and courage on this disgrace, than he had done before; and runing thro' the ranks, he cried out. "Romans, this "mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son, whose valour you admired, let it appear in "your party your admired to the Romans, and instead to the definition of the same and the same and the same and the same and the same are same and the same are same and the same and the same are same as a same and the same and the same are same as a same are same as a same and the same are same as a same

" your rage and refentment against the Barbarians. "Deprive them of their infolent joy, punish their " cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast " down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for " experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great " atchievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, " nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing them some " blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome " has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the " favour of fortune she has attained to so high a de-" gree of power, but by her patience and fortitude " in supporting herself with vigour against adversity." Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind

to re-animate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and ftre-

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The charge being given in consequence, the lighthorse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, difirefled them extremely with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body; except those, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Tho' they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances thro' their bodies with fuch force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired; faying, they would grant Craffus only that night to lament for his fon, unless he should find it VOL. IX.

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more expedient to confult his own fafety, and prefer going voluntarily to being draged to their king Arfaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in com.

pleating its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dreffing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was folely intent upon his particular diffress. For they all faw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they faw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Tho' they were perfectly fensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in defiring to fee his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, fays Plutarch, a great example of the inflability of fortune; to wife and confiderate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to fuch a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there

were two above him, Cæfar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rife, and to confole and encourage him. But seeing him intirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they affembled

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the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without found of trumpet. This was done at first with great filence. But foon after the fick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and consusion, cries, thrieks, and horrible lamentations; fo that the troops who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or bufying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beafts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the centinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Craffus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without faying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Craffus had laid over the Euphrates, and faved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, tho' well informed of his slight, would not pursue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to

the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who sled, took abundance of them, whom they found

straggling on all fides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with sour cohorts, missed his way, and was sound the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitude, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in dispair, in order to open themselves a passage thro' them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened and gave

them passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received salse advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to bestee Carræ, if Crassus were there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages persectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself or Cassus, and to say, that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassus by fight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassus upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and to permit them to retire, upon condition

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that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: That this was more advantageous for both parties than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Cassius should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that

effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at fuch exceeding deceit, told Crassius, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know this delign, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in consequence were not long before they were fully apprifed of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very dissicult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate

themselves out of that labyrinth.

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There were some, who suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go back. wards and forwards in that manner, resused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called Sinnachi, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarraffed by the contrivance of the prefidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as foon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not fo fecure. This was under that of the Sinnachi, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore faw plainly the danger that threatened Crassis, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his affistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians fo rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead around him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, feeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and if the

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night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be fet at liberty, after having posted a number of his foldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that on the contrary, his defign was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crafhus with great humanity. And that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unftrung and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He faid with a loud voice; That contrary to the king his mafter's will, and thro' the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with intire fecurity on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians, was to promote the success of their defigns by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking thro' their engagements upon such occasions.

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The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it: but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and persidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse

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cuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they

appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to intreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day upon the eminencies and diffi. cult places, where they then were, they might eafily fave themselves when night came on: He even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate fuch hopes of their approaching fafety. But feeing they grew outragious, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, " with all the officers and captains here prefent, you " fee the necessity I am under of taking a step I " would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the in-" dignities and violence I fuffer. But I beg you, " when you have retired in fafety, that you will tell " all the world, for the honour of Rome our com-" mon mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by "the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who dismounting from their horses, saluted him with prosound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the sidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roseius, to know only upon what soot they should treat, and in what number.

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Surena caused these two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners, and advancing on horseback followed by the principal officers of his army, as foon as he perceived Craffus, What do I fee! faid he, What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horfeback! Let an horse be brought for him immediately. He imagined, that Craffus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, That there was no reason to be surprized that they came to an interview, each after the * custom of his own country. Very good, returned Surena, from henceforth let there by a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: But we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans, added he, do not always remember your conventions. At the same time he held out his hand to him. Craffus would have fent for an horse; but Surena told him, there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, fet him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius feconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his fword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the fame time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his fword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirafs, and leaped from his

^{*} Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

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horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and

others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very sew escaped: all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Canna. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from

falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Canna, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thoughts but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was thumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations. She was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Enope, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glorg studently sall to the ground, in an attack upon a people formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations.

whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So compleat a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in pitched battle, and sighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overslowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

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The check received by Crassus from the Parthians, was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always flewn by them as fights. The * prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignomi nious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, confented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and fo much did they believe it incumbent on them to esface

* Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? & hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis;
Sub rege Medo Marsus & Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis & togæ
Oblitus, eternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, & urbe Roma?

it, if possible, to the least trace! For themselves they never could forget it. Cæfar was upon the point of fetting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the same design, which turned to his difgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, &c. The firname of Parthius was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans fometimes passed the Euphrates, to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine, in a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassis, perceiving by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly loft, treated an accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the fou of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty, he had lately made. Whilft they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and fent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that fight, and it was faid that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the infatiable thirst which Crassis al-

always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit

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credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead

of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of confummate ability at thirty years of age, and furpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, a thousand horse compleatly armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

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Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. 1. 4. 6. 18.

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The next (a) year the confuls, M. Calpurnius Bi. bulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been alloted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, fon of Orodes king of the Parthians, had paised the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orfaces, an old general, who disposed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he befieged. Cassius had thut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, affembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cashus in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the fame view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and intirely defeated it, so that not a fingle man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they railed the fiege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was not far from thence. But they were fo little skilled in attacking

⁽a) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. 1. ii. epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1-4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 1.8. vii. 2.

towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force confift in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which fuited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them intirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The

remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero faw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who being fituate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero intirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of favages, who called themselves (a) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been mafters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleafed all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harrafled.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two amongst the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind confifts, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles;

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the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately defired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (a), that after his return to Rome, the fenate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out be. tween Cæfar and Pompey; not believing that it be. came him to celebrate a folemnity which breathed no. thing but joy, at a time when the flate was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that sollowed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter

into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who from the lowest condition of (b) life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the

(b) Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 65. Valer.

⁽a) Plut. in Cic. p. 879. Max. l. 9. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. 15. c. 4.

father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæfar, under whom he had ferved in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have faid, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, compleated the

work, and was obtained in this manner.

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That (a) general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of any ally, whom he knew to be intirely in the interests of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He converted frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much asraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians didnot design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual,

⁽a) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. 1. 491. P. 403. 404. Justin. l. 42. c. 4

but a great way lower. For, faid he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this fide is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army confifts, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. foon as he had imparted this fecret to him, the fpy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effeet he could defire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judæa join him, with the legions quartered on the other fide of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they faw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though fituated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should foon make themselves masters of it, and that without much refistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuofity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they foon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and

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and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by slight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the deseat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ

fourteen years before.

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* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him, and as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most satal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear fon Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of

^{*} Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum fumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum slebiliter dolebat. Justin.

whom follicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendant she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAA-TES, the eldest and most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken (a) possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, King of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural fon ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the fame manner, and did not spare his own fon, from the apprehension that the people would fet him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, fo cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE HE.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

Have spoke, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (b) of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose

(b) Strab. l. 12, p. 533, 534.

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⁽a) An. Mun. 3967. Before Christ 37.

possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended toward mount. Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other toward Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo fays, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time (a) Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; mitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost intirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

ARIARATHES I. (b) He reigned jointly with his. brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

Having joined the Persians (c) in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

ARIARATHES II. fon of the former, (d) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for

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⁽a) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

⁽b) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

⁽c) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (d) A. M. 3668. Ant J. C. 336. Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. 18. p. 599 .

the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented him.

felf with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his gene. rals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his fide prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father,

escaped into Armenia.

As foon as he was apprized of the (a) death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedocians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

ARIAMNES his eldest fon succeeded him (b). He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest fon to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this fon, that he made him his colleague

in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his fon of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He (c) married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princels, who finding herself barren, had recourse to imSe

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⁽a) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. (b) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

⁽c) A. M. 3314. Ant. J. C. 190.

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posture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law. Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been deseated, Ariarathes sent (a) ambassadors to Rome, to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans, in savour of his sather-in-law. This was granted him, but not till aster he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his fon-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: But Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes

upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a fon of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being sirnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him

^{*} He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

⁽a) Liv. 1, 37, n. 40, 1, 38, n. 37, and 39,

upon the throne during his life. The fon, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most facred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. sirnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon (a) as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became

the refidence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a fister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of (b) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his

(b) Diod, in Excerpt. p. 334, and 336.

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⁽a) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. 1. 31. p. 865.

cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to The usurper sent his implore aid of the Romans. deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of (a) Attalus king of Pergamus, who fignalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that fum to any one whatfoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so confiderable a lofs did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had (b) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot con-

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^{*} Four hundred thousand crowns.

⁽a) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

⁽b) Justin. l. 35. c.1.

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trived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who (a) had possessed himself of the kingdom of Per-

gamus, and perished in the war.

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He left fix children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's fervices, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those fix princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be at age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the fixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the sury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having deftroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. (b) He married another Laodice, fifter of Mithridates Eupator, and had two fons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. (c) His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused

to be affaffinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes

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⁽a) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. 1. 37. c. 1.

⁽b) Justin. l. 38. c. 1. (c) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

to a conference, in which he affaffinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He sent his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor (a). The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES. IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him of which he died soon after. Mithridates had

re-established his fon upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, fet up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and fent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify, that she had three sons by ARIARA-THES VII. of whom this which the produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have asfurances made by Gordius, that his fon, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the fon of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds. and impostures! The Roman people faw through them; and not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians fent to Rome, to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer flavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt.

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⁽a) Justin. 1. 38. c. 2.

nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wife enough to make a moderate use of perfect and intire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. (a) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in savour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion (b), was not restored till Pompey had put an end-to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had confiderably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His fon fucceeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed fome time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was ARIOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero (c), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose

⁽a) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176. &c. Justin. l. 38. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

⁽b) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. (c) A. M. 5953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2, et. 4. l. 15. ad Famil. et. Epist. 20, l. 5. ad Attic.

welfare was dear to the senate and people: A glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the fenate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly sollicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous difinterest ednels, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change fides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Coppadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus (a). They were confectated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great effates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontist, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo fays, that in his time there were above fix thousand persons confecrated to the service of this temple. From hence

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^{*} Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat Εν παρόδω consilio et autoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀπρόσιλον με, non modò ἀδωροδόκηλον, præbui, regem, regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. 5. ad.
Attic.

⁽a) Strab. 1. 12. p. 535. et 557.

the high-priest was so powerful; and * in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by sorce of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and soot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peace-

able possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæfar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with fome troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very confiderable sums of money from him (a): for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cap-Cæfar was then in Egypt, from whence he fet out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed thro' Cappadocia, and made fuch regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and intirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæfar had conquered Pharnaces (b), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (c) gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he resused to enter into their al-

(a) Cæsar de bell. Civ. I. 3. Hist. de bell. Alex.

^{*} Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putahatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. Epist. 4. sib r.s. ad Famil.

⁽b) Diod. L. 42. p. 183. (c) A. M. 306a. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. 1. 47.

liance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken

him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandfon of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war. as we shall relate in the following book (a), and joined the Romans. He left one fon, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, Queen of Egypt, and was killed fix months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two fons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus (b). The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who posfessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him (c), and fet Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHELAUS (d) That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to

⁽a) Strab. 1. 12. p. 558. Diod. 1. 39. p. 116.

⁽b) A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian de bell. Civ. l. 5. p. 675.

⁽d) A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. 49. p. 411. (d) A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 914.

escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the

only one treated with fo much favour.

He assisted Tiberius (a) to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great fervices with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the oceasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he confiderably augmented his power. For as the fons of Polemon were infants at that time. he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy (b): but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's re-That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his fons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him *; to avoid giving umbrage to the two young-Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was confidered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace,

^{. (}a) A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 21. Joseph. Antiq. l. 15, c. 5. Diod. 1. 54. p. 526. Sueton in Tib c. 8. Diod. l. 57. p. 614. Strab. l. 14. p. 671. et l. 12. p. 556.

(b) A. M. 3983. Ant J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. 10. Vell. Paterc. l. 2. c. 99.

^{*} Ne fulgor suas orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa confilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Paterc. 1. 2. c. 99.

and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, refiding generally at + Eleufis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, fays Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous, at that time. On the contrary (a), when young Caius Cæfar, appointed governor of the east, was fent into Armenia by Augustus, to appeale the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear infight into futurity. It had been more confistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius ‡ Atticus, who during the divisions, with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition

^{*} Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia storente Caio Casare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Tacit. Annal. 1. 2. c. 42.

[†] Eleuss was but six leagues distant from Rhodes, Strab. 1, 14.

⁽a) A. M. 4002. A. D 12.

⁴ Hoc quale sit, facilius exissimabit is, qui judicare quantae sit sapientiae, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmislatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum suit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanae sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. 29.

in Archelaus (a). He made him highly fensible of this when he became mafter. Archelaus was cited to Rome. as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a fnare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The * king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He fet out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and faw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his feufes, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no fentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to fuffer, foon occasioned his death. He had reigned two and fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able from his new acquisition to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province fome relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the

last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally refided at Mazaca (b), a city fituated upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of + Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which

(b) Strab. 1. 12. p. \$37, 539.

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⁽a) A. M. 4020. A. D. 17.

* Ille ignarus doli, vel, & intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat : exceptusque immiti a principe, & mox accusatus a fenatu; non ob crimina, quae fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessius senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. Tacit. Ann. 1. 2. c. 42.

[†] This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses (a), and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought fo particularly alloted for the use of the emperors, that the confuls themselves were forbad to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of * slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their salse witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury (b), tho'the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; Lend me your evidence (c), and I'll pay you with mine.

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has

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⁽a) Boch. Phaleg. 1. 3. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Horat.

⁽b) Cic. pro Flace. n. 9. 10. (c) Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

produced however some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unsit for the profession of orators; and it became a proverb, that * a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a slying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

End of the NINTH VOLUME.

Θᾶτίον ὖην λευκὸς κοράκας πτηνάστε χελώνας Ευρείν, η δόκιμον ρητορα Καππαδόκην.





